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SELECT EARLY ENGLISH POEMS

SAINT ERKENWALD

1/2

PRINTED IN ENGLAND
AT THE OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
BY FREDERICK HALL

Front piece
II^a

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but mireys heong for chaste 2 deynd ful mony
as bishop bidden not to day brennes se cannes
greenes red bryggs for no bryggs my 1000 handwipes
my bale ar in to hant f hant to hant yo boyle
d bales no hande of legge mō no hande agyst

SELECT EARLY ENGLISH POEMS

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IV

ST. ERKENWALD

(BISHOP OF LONDON 675–693)

An Alliterative Poem, written about 1386,
narrating a Miracle wrought by the Bishop
in St. Paul's Cathedral



HUMPHREY MILFORD: OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON: AMEN CORNER, E.C.

1922

'ERKENWALDE, CHRISTI LAMPAS AUREA,
TUA SANCTA PRECE NOSTRA DELE FACINORA.
QUATENUS TE COLLODANTES STELLATA
GRATULARI TECUM POSCIMUS IN PALACIA,
UBI NOVA DOMINO REBOANTES CANTICA
CONSONA VOCE JUBILEMUS ALLELUJA.'

From Sequence for the Office of St. Erkenwald.¹

PR
1968
E
1922

¹ See Sparrow Simpson's *Documents Illustrating the History of St. Paul's Cathedral*, Camden Society, 1880.

PREFACE

The Manuscript. *St. Erkenwald* is preserved in one manuscript, Brit. Mus. Harl. 2250, ff. 72 b-75 a. This paper manuscript, which belongs to the last quarter of the fifteenth century, is a miscellany, mainly of religious poetry, including a portion of the South English Legendary.¹ A defective version of the *Speculum Christiani* of John Watton, in the manuscript, ends with the date 1477 as the year when the scribe copied the piece. The present poem is headed ‘De Erkenwaldo’, though the head-lines vary, giving either ‘De sancto Erkenwald’ or ‘De sancto Erkenwaldo episcopo’. Our poem is in the same hand as the main part of the manuscript, the contents of which, whatever their origin, are in the Northern dialect. Some late glosses, of little interest, indicate that some one in the late sixteenth or seventeenth century attempted to read the present poem.

Certain names found in the manuscript are of interest. ‘Ser Thomas boker has Thys boke’, f. 8, is a claim to ownership, in a legal hand of the sixteenth century, which is further attested by a slightly later hand, ‘syr Thomas bowker mine emys’, i.e. Sir Thomas Bowker my uncle’s [book], f. 71. ‘Eme’ is suggestively northern. I have not been able to trace Sir Thomas Bowker as knight, and it seems quite

¹ For the contents of the MS. see *Catalogue of the Harleian MSS.*, British Museum; C. Horstmann’s *Altenglische Legenden*, 1875, p. xxxviii; Ward’s *Catalogue of Romances in the MSS. Dept., British Museum*, vol. ii, pp. 690, 738; Carleton Brown’s *Register of Middle English Religious Verse*, vol. i, p. 314 (see also MS. Add. 38666).

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possible that the addition was used by him for marking his clerical position as parson or chaplain. Other names are Thomas Masse (? Mosse), f. 64 b, and what looks like Neltho Norton, f. 75 b. Some jottings are of interest, as for example against the words 'How longe had he þer layne', l. 95, we find 'we'redyn in a boke' followed by a word or two illegible, and a reference in one of the margins of f. 75 b to 'Ryght reuerrynd Sodor', before which last word is a mark resembling a Y.

But transcending in interest all these annotations is a marginal entry running along the length of the page, looking like an attempt on the part of some one to write out a legal formula, the words being as follows: 'Nouerint vniuersi per presentes nos Eesebyt (= Elsebyt) bothe of dunnam (wrongly contracted) in the comytye (= county) of Chester in the comythe', followed out of line by what looks like 'edmund'. Now Dr. W. L. Ward, in his *Catalogue*, suggested that this entry, with the name of Elsebyt Bothe of Dunham Massey, might have reference to Elizabeth, daughter of George Booth, and wife of Richard Sutton. This would give us about 1566 as date for the entry. But Elizabeth was a common name in the great Booth family, and there was an earlier Elizabeth Booth. This matter, however, cannot be determined. For me, the point of striking value is that the book, in some way or other, was connected with a member of the famous Lancashire and Cheshire family of Booth, who were settled at Dunham Massey, and from whom came the great bishop and statesman, Laurence Booth, and his half-brothers, William, Archbishop of York, and John, Bishop of Exeter. Laurence Booth was one of the outstanding figures of his age, a Cambridge man, Master of his College, Pembroke Hall, from 1450 to the date of his death in 1480, Chancellor of the University, Chancellor to Queen Margaret, Keeper of the

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Privy Seal, Bishop of Durham, Archbishop of York, identified for some six or seven years with St. Paul's Cathedral, as prebendary in 1449, and after various promotions, as Dean in 1456. His brothers also figure on the roll of the prebendaries. It is not, perhaps, allowing one's fancy too much liberty to imagine that the preservation of *St. Erkenwald* may be due to this West Midland prelate, statesman, and man of law, who as Dean of St. Paul's must have known the poem, and as a West Midland man would have been specially interested in its form and language. Treasured among his books, the poem may well have been copied into this collection of religious pieces prepared for him towards the end of his life. The book remained in his family, and some time or other some one, evidently intimate with his kinswoman, Elizabeth Booth of Dunham Massey, practised his hand in legal formulae, little deeming of the inference deducible, or at all events hazarded, from the evidence of the crude script. In the light of what I shall later attempt to prove, namely, that the poem, specifically a London poem, was written in London by a West Country man, this association of the manuscript with one of the greatest western families, whose most distinguished representative was for a time the custodian of St. Erkenwald's shrine, deserves more than a passing notice.

St. Erkenwald was printed in 1881 by Dr. Horstmann in *Altenglische Legenden, Neue Folge* (Heilbronn), with some fifty brief foot-notes to the text, a short summary of the poem, and some nine lines of introduction. So far, the poem has not been edited, and although it has been the subject of much general speculation, its textual problems, its interpretation, and the question of its metrical arrangement have remained unsolved, to say nothing of the important relation of the poem to fourteenth-century alliterative poetry, more especially in its relation to contemporary London.

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The present edition is based on a fresh transcript of the manuscript. Apart from interpretations and readings, and from emendations indicated by square brackets or obeli, it differs from the previous text in its quatrain arrangement.¹ As far as the expansion of contractions is concerned, the curl in the manuscript after final -n is regarded by me as being merely ornamental, or as originally indicating that the letter was -n and not -u. Accordingly, the former expansion into -ne has been rejected throughout. In the Textual and General Notes will be found all the deviations from the manuscript.

Summary of the Poem. After the coming of St. Augustine, when Erkenwald was Bishop of London, there befell a miracle in St. Paul's Cathedral, which had formerly been a heathen temple. During the rebuilding of the minster, or rather that part of it which was called 'New Work', in the crypt below was found a noble tomb of gray marble, richly ornamented, with vaulted canopy, and inscribed about with bright letters of gold, that could not be interpreted in spite of the efforts of all the clerks in the cathedral close. The news of the wonder spread throughout the town. Many hundreds rushed thither—burgesses, beadles, guildsmen. Apprentices struck work and hied to St. Paul's, and in a short spell it seemed as if the whole world had assembled there. The Mayor and his officers, by assent of the sacristan, took charge of the place. They bade that the lid should be taken off the tomb; and lo, the inside was all richly painted with gold. Therein lay a body, royally attired, with gown hemmed with bright gold and precious pearls, with girdle also of gold. Over the robe was a furred mantle. On the head was a coif, and set above it was a crown; the hands held a noble sceptre.

¹ See Prefaces to *Cleanness* and *Patience* in *Select Early English Poems*, ed. Sir I. Gollancz.

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So fresh and untouched were both body and garb, it seemed that the burial must have been but of yesterday. Yet no one could find any record thereof in book or in tale.

Bishop Erkenwald was visiting an abbey in Essex, when news reached him of this excitement in town. He sent messages entreating the people to keep quiet, and as soon as possible journeyed thither himself. When he reached St. Paul's, many hastened to tell him of the marvel. He entered his palace, commanded silence, went alone into a chamber and closed the door. All night he prayed that it might be vouchsafed him to understand the mystery, and he was conscious that the Holy Ghost had granted him his boon. When 'matins' had been sung, the minster doors were opened, and the Bishop in full pontificals, attended by his clergy, began the Mass of the Holy Spirit, amid the music of the choir. It was a noble congregation that was present. When the service was ended, the procession passed from the altar. As the bishop came into the body of the church, some of the great lords present joined him, and, vested as he was, he went towards the tomb. The crypt was unlocked, and it was difficult to control the great crowd that pressed after him. In front of the tomb the bishop took his stand, barons beside him; and there, too, was the mayor with the city magnates, the mace-bearers in front. The dean told what had befallen, and with his finger indicated the finding of that marvel. In their necrology there was no mention of such a one. They had searched the cathedral library for seven whole days, but of this king they could not find any record.¹ Save by some miracle, he could not have lain there so long as so entirely to pass out of memory. With gentle rebuke the bishop more hopefully urged that what seemed marvellous

¹ There is an earlier interesting reference to the library of St. Paul's in the thirteenth-century *Miracles of the Virgin* in French, where in the

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to men was easy to the Lord. When the creature's powers are all at a loss, it behoves him to seek help from the Creator.

Turning then to the tomb, he bade the corse, in Christ's name, to tell who it was and why it lay there, how long it had thus rested, what was its faith, whether it was 'joined to joy, or judged to pain'. As he spoke, the bishop sighed. Thereupon the body moved slightly, and with a dreary voice it told how, through the potency of the Name, it could not but speak and declare the whole truth. He was, alas, one of the unhappiest of mortals, he was neither king nor kaiser nor knight, he was a man of the law that formerly obtained in the land. He was a judge appointed for important causes in that city under a pagan prince, and he himself was of like pagan faith. He had been a 'justice in eyre' in New Troy in the reign of King Belin. The multitude stood hushed as these words were uttered; many of them wept. Then the bishop asked why it was, as he had not been king, that he wore the crown; and why he bore the sceptre, seeing he had no land or vassals, nor power over life and limb. Whereupon the body spake again. Crown and sceptre were placed on him, but not by his will. For forty years he had been chief judge—Justiciar—in London under a noble duke, and had endured much in his endeavour to keep the people to the right. For no gain on earth did he swerve from conscience; neither riches nor rank, neither menace nor mischief nor pity, influenced his judgements. 'Though it had been my father's murderer, I harboured no bias; nor would I have favoured my father, though hanging were his due.'

Prologue it is stated that the author did not invent the miracles, but found them in a book in the 'almarie', i.e. library, of St. Paul's.

'Jo lai de saint pol del almarie.

De saint pol de la noble iglise.

Ki en lundres est bien assise.'

(Ward, *Romances*, vol. ii, p. 709.)

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When he died, all Troy mourned, because of his great justice, and they buried him in that golden tomb. They clad him in that robe as most gracious of judges, in that mantle as meekest and manliest on bench. The fur set thereon was for his perfect faith ; the girdle betokened his noble governance of Troy. In honour of his fair fame exceeding all, they crowned him appraised king of noble justices, and because he ever looked to what was just, they placed the sceptre within his hand.

The bishop then asked him how, though his body might thus have been kept embalmed, the colour and substance of his garb had remained so fresh. It had not been embalmed, answered the corse ; nor had human craft kept its robes so spotless. The All-wise King, Who loves justice above all things, had vouchsafed that it might remain uncorrupted so long.

‘What sayest thou of thy soul?’ then asked the bishop. ‘How is thy soul bestead, if thou wroughtest so well? He that rewards each man as he has acted aright, could ill deny thee some branch of His grace.’ The body moved its head and groaned, and then cried out, ‘How for Thy mercy could I ever hope? Was I not a pagan, who never knew Thee nor Thy laws, alas the day! I was not of those Thou didst rescue from Limbo; I remained there behind, exiled from the Heavenly Feast, where they are refreshed who hungered after righteousness.’ All wept as they heard the moaning of the corse ; the bishop himself could not speak for sobbing. He paused ; then turning to the body where it lay, his tears falling the while, spake thus : ‘God grant thee but to live till I get water and may baptize thee in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost !’ And as he uttered the words, he let fall a tear on the face of the corse. ‘Praised be our Saviour,’ the corse then exclaimed, ‘praised

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be Thou, great God, and Thy gracious Mother ; blessed be the blissful hour she bore Thee ; and blessed be thou, bishop, the cure of my care, who hast relieved the heavy gloom wherein my soul has dwelt. The words that thou spakest, and the tears of thine eyes, have become my baptism ; my soul even now is seated at the Table. With the words and the water there flashed a gleam into the abyss, and amid richest mirth my spirit passed into that Upper Room, where sup the faithful. A marshal met it there with sovereign grace, and with reverence assigned to it a place for evermore. My high God praise I, and also thee, bishop—blessed be thou !' The voice then ceased, the body fell to dust.

'All the beauty of the body was black as the mould,
As rotten as the rottock that rises in dust.

For as soon as the soul was seised in bliss,
Corrupt was the cumbrance that covered the bones ;
For life everlasting, that lessen shall never,
Makes void each vain glory availing so little.

Then was there laud to our Lord, with uplifted hands,
Much mourning and mirth commingled together ;
They passed forth in procession, the people all followed,
And all the bells in London-town burst forth at once.'

The Prologue. A Prologue precedes the poem, telling that in the time of St. Erkenwald, Bishop of London, one part of St. Paul's, formerly a heathen temple, had been pulled down for rebuilding ; and the poet briefly explains how the pagan Saxons had driven out the Britons, and had perverted the people of London, who had previously been Christians. This realm had remained heathen for many years, until St. Augustine was sent by the pope. He converted the people again to Christianity ; he turned heathen temples into churches ; in place of idols he set up saints. He changed the old dedications—Apollo to St. Peter,

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Mahoun to St. Margaret or St. Mary Magdalene. ‘The Synagogue of the Sun’ was dedicated to our Lady. Thus St. Augustine consecrated to Christian use what had been the Seat of Satan in the days of Saxon heathendom. At that time London was called New Troy ; it has ever been the metropolis and chief town. Its great temple was dedicated to a mighty devil, and bore his name. This devil was the most honoured of all idols in Saxon lands. There were then three metropolitan cities in Britain, each with its great temple, and London’s ‘Temple Triapolitan’—‘þe thrid temple hit wos tolde of Triapolitane’—became, after St. Augustine’s mission, the Minster of St. Paul.

The alliterative poets found special delight in preluding their poems with references to the legend that linked Britain with Brutus, the eponymous Trojan who first settled the land. But this miracle of Erkenwald, connecting Christian London with pagan Troynovant, called for a prologue dealing with heathen England, and more especially with St. Augustine’s conversion of the Saxons, and with the transformation of heathen temples into Christian churches. The reference to Brutus was to find due place in the poem itself.

The main source of our poet’s knowledge was certainly Geoffrey of Monmouth’s *Historia Britonum*. His references to the driving of the Britons into Wales by the Saxons, to the perversion of the folk who remained (more particularly those of London), and to the apostasy of Britain till the coming of St. Augustine, are clearly derived from Book XI, chs. viii–xii. When, however, our poet proceeds with the statement regarding the hurling out of the heathen idols and the dedications of the temples as churches, he is rightly transferring to St. Augustine the account given in Geoffrey concerning Lucius, the first British king to embrace the Christian faith. In Book IV, ch. xix, it is told how in his

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time and at his request two holy men had been sent to Britain by Pope Eleutherius. After they had almost extinguished paganism throughout the whole island, they dedicated the temples, that had been founded in honour of many gods, to the one God and His saints, and filled them with congregations of Christians. In Book V, ch. i, we are told that Lucius rejoiced at the great progress which the true faith had made in his kingdom, and permitted the possessions and territories which formerly belonged to the temples of the gods to be converted *to better uses* and appropriated to Christian churches. Lucius died in A.D. 156. Here we clearly have the source of ‘*& chargit hom better*’ (l. 18).

So far as St. Augustine’s consecration of a heathen temple for Christian worship is concerned, his name is associated with St. Pancras, Canterbury, which was the first church dedicated by him. This, as the historian Thorn tells us, was originally ‘a temple or idol-house, where King Ethelbert used to pray according to the rites of his nation and in company with his nobles, “to sacrifice to devils and not to God”. This temple’, Thorn continues, ‘Augustine purified from the pollutions and defilements of the Gentiles, and breaking the image which was in it, converted the synagogue into a church.’ He states as follows: ‘*Phanum sive ydolum situm, ubi rex Ethelbertus secundum ritum gentis suaे solebat orare, et cum nobilibus suis daemoniis et non Deo sacrificare. Quod phanum Augustinus ab inquinamentis et sordibus gentilium purgavit, et simulacro quod in ea erat confracto synagogam mutavit in ecclesiam.*’¹

Our poet evidently knew from Bede’s *Ecclesiastical History* St. Gregory’s famous letter to the Abbot Mellitus concerning

¹ From the *Chronicle* of William Thorn, fl. 1397 (see Mason, *Mission of St. Augustine*, p. 94), whose work up to the year 1228 was mainly from Sprott’s *History of St. Augustine’s, Canterbury*; Sprott flourished about 1270.

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the heathen temples in England. ‘ When Almighty God brings you through to our brother the Bishop Augustine, tell him what I have long been turning over in my thoughts in reference to the English; namely, not to let the idol temples be destroyed in that nation, but to have the idols in them destroyed. Holy water should be made and sprinkled in the temples, altars built, and relics placed there. For if the temples are well built, they ought to be converted from the worship of demons to the service of the true God; so that the people, seeing that their temples are not destroyed, may put away error from their hearts, and knowing and adoring the true God, may come with more of the sense of being at home to the familiar places.’¹

Our poet does not refer specifically to the foundation of St. Paneras, but his instances are noteworthy :

(1) ‘ That ere was of Apollo is now of Saint Peter’ (l. 19). It was a well-known tradition that a church to St. Peter was erected by Seberht, king of the East Saxons, out of the remains of a temple of Apollo that stood on its site at Thorney, *i.e.* Westminster. Concerning the history of Westminster Abbey, and the early legends connected with the foundation, see the History of the Abbey by John Flete, who was a monk of the house from 1420 to 1465. The work, well known and often quoted, was first edited by Dr. J. Armitage Robinson, Dean of Westminster, in 1909. The first document given by Flete claims to be from an ancient Anglo-Saxon chronicle; but

¹ *The Mission of St. Augustine to England according to the Original Documents*, ed. Professor A. J. Mason, Cambridge, 1897, p. 89. Compare *Venerabilis Baedae Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, ed. Dr. Charles Plummer, Oxford, 1896, Bk. I, ch. xxx, with the notes to the chapter. I think we may safely assume that the passage concerning Lucius in Geoffrey of Monmouth was due, by a very natural application, to this passage in Bede’s *History*. See also Sir Henry Howorth’s *Saint Augustine of Canterbury*, 1913.

according to the editor, it cannot be much earlier than the middle of the twelfth century. It gives an account of 'the first foundation of the church by King Lucius in A. D. 184, its degradation to be a temple of Apollo after the Diocletian persecution, its reconstruction by King Sebert and its consecration by St. Peter "in the spirit"'. Flete states that the pagan Angles and Saxons, having driven out the Christian Britons, erected altars and temples to their own gods. He then adds these words: 'rediit itaque veteris abominationis ubique sententia; a sua Britones expelluntur patria; immolat Dianae Londonia, *thurificat Apollini suburbana Thorneia.*'

(2) Possibly the reference to Westminster Abbey prompted 'Mahound to Saint Margaret', which immediately follows, though there were many other churches in London dedicated to St. Margaret besides the parish church of Westminster. There is nothing specific in 'Mahon', which, like its variant 'Maumet', was applied to any false god or idol, under the common mediaeval idea that the false prophet was worshipped as a divinity.

(3) 'The Synagogue of the Sun was set to our Lady' (l. 21). In the whole poem there is perhaps nothing more striking than this fine alliterative line, the significance of which has hitherto not been recognized. In thinking of instances to illustrate the conversion of heathen temples into Christian churches, our poet recalled from his reading of Geoffrey of Monmouth how King Bladud, the father of King Leir, built Kaerbadus, now Bath, and made hot baths in it for the benefit of the people, which he dedicated to the goddess Minerva, in whose temple he kept fires 'that never went out nor consumed to ashes, but as soon as they began to decay, were turned into balls of stone'. Now the Latin name for Bath, Aquae Solis, is said to be a Romanizing of the name of the divinity worshipped at Bath, namely Sul, whom the

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Romans identified with Minerva. The Roman remains which were found under the site of the present Pump Room are the clearest evidence of the grandeur of the temples dedicated to Sul Minerva, whose image has been discovered, together with several altars and many other remains, including a tombstone with the name of one of her priests, and also portions of the pediment of the temple with the great round sun-like face which was in the middle of it, perhaps one of the most remarkable relics of Celtic Britain.

Camden and other antiquaries maintain that the Abbey Church stands where once was a temple consecrated to Minerva. On the other hand, according to the *Red Book of Bath*, in a statement added in 1582, it would appear that it was the old church of St. Mary de Stabula, *i.e.* St. Mary Stall, that had been built upon the ruins of a temple to Minerva, some of the ruins being actually then in existence.¹ The greatest authority on Roman Britain, the late Professor Haverfield, summing up the evidence on the subject in the *Victoria History of Somerset*, vol. i, p. 229, asserts that ‘while we admit a temple to Minerva, we shall find no evidence that it stood on the site either of the Abbey or of the now vanished church of St. Mary Stall’, and he adds in a foot-note that the reference in the *Red Book of Bath* was more probably due to antiquarian theory than to fact, otherwise we should have heard of it from Leland or Camden; elsewhere he states that no one else mentions a ruin, and that it seems merely a bit of sixteenth-century antiquarianism. But I venture to think that the present line gives the missing evidence, for here our author, who may be assumed to be speaking from actual knowledge or local tradition, chooses out for special mention the Temple of the Sun, *i.e.* of Sul Minerva at Bath, as

¹ Est istud epitaphium sculptum a dextra in ostio ruinosi templi quondam Minervae dedicati, et adhuc in loco dicto sese studiosis offerens.

having been consecrated to our Lady. His statement tends to confirm the evidence afforded by the fact that the remains of the temple were found for the most part in Stall Street, *i.e.* near the site of the now no longer existing church of St. Mary Stall. It is quite likely that some vestiges of the old temple still existed in the fourteenth century, and that the reference, even as late as 1582, in the *Red Book of Bath*, is not merely due, as Professor Haverfield maintained, to antiquarian imagination. In my opinion, however, the absence of any reference thereto in Camden and Leland is not conclusive, for one could point to many noteworthy omissions in the works of both these antiquaries. Further, I am inclined to hold that we have other corroborative evidence enforcing the view I venture to set forth. In Layamon's *Brut*, written early in the thirteenth century, in the rendering of the passage quoted above from Geoffrey of Monmouth concerning Bladud as the founder of Bath and the builder of the temple to Minerva, we have (in the older of the two manuscripts of the poem) an interesting amplification, with the statement that he called Minerva 'læfdi', *i.e.* lady, and that the perpetual fire that burned in the temple was 'to the worship of his lady, who was dear to him in heart':

‘to wr̄ðscipe his læfdi,
þe leof him wes on heorten,’¹

Is not this interpolation a reference to the Church of Our Lady, St. Mary at Stall,² as existing in Layamon's time on the site of the pagan temple to Minerva, whom Bladud called 'his lady'? Layamon, who lived not so very far from Bath, would certainly have been acquainted with the history and traditions of the city. It is worth while noting, in dealing

¹ Vol. i, p. 121.

² St. Mary intra Muros, as it was called, in the year 1290 was so dilapidated that it then had to be thoroughly repaired.

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with the story of Bladud, that Geoffrey of Monmouth tells how that weird king, who first attempted to fly to the upper regions of the air with wings which he had prepared, fell down upon the temple of Apollo in the city of Trinovantum, *i.e.* New Troy, where he was dashed to pieces.¹

Before leaving the subject of ancient Bath, and references thereto in these early poems, I cannot forgo the mention of the earliest of all allusions in English literature to its ruins which already in Anglo-Saxon times seem to have inspired no mean poet. In lines preserved in the *Exeter Book* we have, as Professor Earle, in my view, convincingly maintained, a description of the old Brito-Roman ruined city as left devastated after A. D. 577 :

‘Bright were the buildings, the bath-houses many,
High-towered the pinnacles, frequent the war-clang,
Many the mead-halls, of merriment full,
Till all was overturned by Fate the violent . . .
There stood courts of stone! The stream hotly rushed
With eddy wide (wall all enclosed),
With bosom bright (there the baths were),
Hot in its nature, that was a boon indeed.’²

The alliterative formula ‘Synagoge of þe Sonne’ was an echo of ‘Synagoga Satanae’, *i.e.* synagogue of Satan; and in l. 24 the poet refers to the ‘seat of Satan’ (Rev. ii. 13). It should be noted that *synagoga* or ‘synagogue’ was common in Latin as in Middle English in the sense of a heathen temple.

(4) The mention of Jupiter and Juno, as yielding to Jesus or James, has no definite significance, and the seeming identifi-

¹ Bk. II, ch. x.

² Earle, *Anglo-Saxon Literature*, 1884. As regards the antiquities of Bath, more especially with reference to the Temple of the Sun, compare *Aqua Solis, or Notices of Roman Bath*, by the Rev. H. M. Scarth, 1864; Richard Warner’s *History of Bath*, 1801; Professor Earle’s *Guide to the Knowledge of Bath*, 1864; *Victoria History of Somerset*, vol. i.

cations are due to alliterative effect, as in the case of 'Maude-layne' (l. 20), alliterating with 'Margrete'.

(5) The poet then passes again to London, and deals specifically with the heathen temple that, after the conversion of the East Saxons, became the Cathedral of St. Paul's. He tells how a mighty devil was worshipped in that great minster of London, 'the metropolis',¹ then called New Troy. The Saxon temple was called after its idol, which was the greatest divinity in Saxon lands. It is strange that the author avoids giving the name of the heathen god. Old legends of St. Paul's conjectured that 'a temple of Diana formerly stood here',² but our poet, in touching on Saxon paganism, had no need to take cognizance of this legend. In Geoffrey of Monmouth, Bk. VI, ch. x, it is told in a famous passage how Hengist, on arriving in Kent, was conducted into the presence of Vortigern, who was then at Canterbury, and in a great speech explained how he and his brother Horsa, under the good guidance of Mercury, had arrived in that kingdom. The historian then tells that the king, at the name of Mercury, looked earnestly upon them, and asked them what religion they professed. 'We worship', replied Hengist, 'our country gods, Saturn and Jupiter, and the other deities that govern the world, but especially Mercury, whom in our language we call Woden, and to whom our ancestors consecrated the fourth day of the week, still called after his name Wodensday. Next to him we worship the powerful goddess Frea, to whom they also dedicated the sixth day, which after her name we call Friday.' The poet is dealing, as he himself says, with the heathendom of London 'in Hengist's days'. It was ingenious on his part,

¹ He evidently got the term 'metropol' from Bede II, ch. iii, where 'Lundonia civitas' is described as the 'Orientalium Saxonum... metropolis', the metropolis of the East Saxons.

² Camden's *Britannia*, 1789, vol. ii, p. 5.

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with the passage just quoted before him, to infer (for I can discover no legendary authority for it) that Mercury, or rather Woden, was in pagan Saxon times the presiding ‘devil’ of the heathen temple later consecrated to St. Paul. Woden among the Teutons was the highest divinity, and was later identified with Mercury. In the *Germania* of Tacitus¹ it is clearly stated, ‘deorum maxime Mercurium colunt, cui certis diebus humanis quoque hostiis litare fas habent’ (ch. 9). Similarly Caesar (Bk. VI, ch. 17, § 1) mentions Mercury as the chief god of the Gauls, and Tacitus seems to be echoing Caesar’s words with reference to the Germanic divinity. The value of Caesar’s observation is that he enumerates the functions of Mercurius as the basis of his identification: ‘hunc omnium inventorem artium ferunt; hunc viarum atque itinerum ducem; hunc ad quaestus pecuniae mercaturasque habere vim maximam arbitrantur.’ The name of the fourth day of the week, *dies Mercurii* (in its various Romance forms), our Wednesday, affords an interesting example of the *interpretatio Romana*, which attempted to identify with Latin gods and goddesses the divinities of other pagan cults.

The old tradition that St. Paul’s Cathedral was built on the site of a temple to Diana is a legend closely connected with Brute’s foundation of Troynovant, seeing that the Trojan hero was led to seek out Britain, as Geoffrey of Monmouth narrates, by that goddess’s prophetic utterance, which came to him in a vision :

‘Brute ! sub occasum solis trans Gallica regna,
Insula in oceano est undique clausa mari:
Insula in oceano est habitata gigantibus olim,
Nunc deserta quidem, gentibus apta tuis.

¹ *Germania*, ed. H. Furneaux, Oxford, 1894. On Woden and Mercury, see Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, trans. Stallybrass, 1882, vol. i, chs. vi, vii, and relevant notes, vol. iii.

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Hanc pete, namque tibi sedes erit illa perennis:
Sic fiet natis altera Troia tuis.

Sic de prole tua reges nascentur: et ipsis
Totius terrae subditus orbis erit.¹

That the legend existed in the Middle Ages is attested by the old manuscript quoted in the *History of Westminster Abbey*, by John Flete, already referred to, where occur the striking words, already quoted, with reference to the driving out of the Britons by the pagan Saxons: ‘immolat Diana Londonia, thurificat Apollini suburbana Thorneia.’

Even in the seventeenth century, Bishop Corbet rhetorically exclaimed: ‘It was once dedicated to Diana, at least some part of it; but the idolatry lasted not long; and see a mystery in the change: St. Paul confuting twice the Idol: there, in person, where the cry was, “Great is Diana of the Ephesians!” and here, by proxy, Paul installed while Diana is thrust out.’² Dugdale, in his *History of St. Paul's*, taking cognizance of what has been stated on the subject, thought it probable enough that in the place where Ethelbert, King of Kent, had built St. Paul's, there had been a temple of the goddess Diana. He was inclined to accept the evidence which Camden adduced, namely, ‘the structure near at hand, called Diana's Chambers, and the multitude of ox-heads digged up, when the east part thereof was rebuilded (*temp. Edward I*), which were then thought to be the relics of the Gentiles' sacrifices’.³ Sir Christopher Wren, according to the Memoirs compiled by his son, did not credit the common story that a temple to Diana had stood there. If there had been such a temple, he supposed that it might have been within the walls of the Colony and more to the south.⁴

¹ Bk. I, ch. 11.

² *History of St. Paul's*, by W. Longman.

³ Dugdale's *History of St. Paul's Cathedral*, 1658, p. 3.

⁴ *Parentalia*, compiled by Christopher Wren, and pub. 1750, pp. 266, 286.

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There can, however, be little doubt that Diana was worshipped in Roman London, for on the site of Goldsmiths' Hall there was found an altar dedicated to the goddess, still preserved at Goldsmiths' Hall; this site, however, is some way from the Cathedral. Diana's Chambers, which were on Paul's Wharf Hill, according to a local tradition referred rather to Henry II's Fair Rosamund: 'as he had called her at Woodstock *Rosa Mundi*, so here he called her *Diana*'.¹

The last two lines of the Prologue, referring to St. Paul's as the third temple Triapolitan, take us again to the statement in Geoffrey telling how the sacerdotal functionaries in heathen Britain were transformed in the time of Lucius, the first Christian king of Britain, into a Christian hierarchy, and how the three chief centres of paganism became the three great metropolitan cities of Christian Britain. Hence the poet's 'Triapolitane', an erroneous formation for 'tripolitans' in the sense of a trinity of metropolitan cities; cp. Tripolis and 'tripolitanus'. The form of the word reminds one of 'trialogus' (on the supposed analogy of 'dialogue'). 'Trialogue', however, is first recorded in English in the sixteenth century; but it is noteworthy that Wyclif uses the Med. Latin 'trialogus' as the title of one of his Latin works, conjectured to belong to the year 1383.

To sum up, our poet may be credited with having taken into account the legendary history of St. Paul's as follows: a heathen temple (dedicated probably to Diana) in the earliest days of Troynovant; its Christianizing, as one of the three Metropolitan British churches, in the time of Lucius; its perversion to paganism by the Saxons; its rededication, after the mission of St. Augustine, as St. Paul's Cathedral. In the time of the British King Belin, the temple was of course the

¹ Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson, *Chapters in the History of Old St. Paul's*, 1881, p. 70.

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seat of heathen worship, and was dedicated to some heathen divinity. It is strange that in this connexion the poet nowhere refers to Diana. Can it be that he is thinking of the exalted type of paganism described with reference to the conversion of Britain to Christianity by Lucius:—‘There were then in Britain eight and twenty flamens, as also three archflamens, to whose jurisdiction the other judges and enthusiasts were subject . . . where there were flamens [they] made them bishops, where archflamens, archbishops. The seats of the archflamens were the three noblest cities, viz., London, York, and the City of Legions.’¹ As regards the dedication of the heathen temples, it is merely there stated, as has been mentioned already, that they had been founded in honour of many gods, and were now dedicated to the one only God and His saints.

Accordingly, the Prologue ends by stating that the Saxon heathen temple in London had been formerly accounted one of the three Metropolitan seats. These in the time of the British Lucius had been established in place of the three Metropolitan seats of the British archflamens.

Our poet seems to show a fine sense of antiquarianism² in his suggestion that the pagan Saxon dedication was to Woden, to whom the earliest Anglo-Saxon kings traced their genealogies. ‘The adoration of Woden’, as Grimm puts it, ‘must reach up to immemorial times, a long way beyond the first notices given us by the Romans of Mercury’s worship in Germania.’³

¹ Geoffrey, as above, Bk. IV, ch. 19.

² This was probably due to his interpretation of Bede’s statement, Bk. II, ch. 6, ‘Mellitum vero Lundonienses episcopum recipere noluerunt, idolatris magis pontificibus servire gaudentes’. Green and other modern historians take the same view, though Gomme, in his *Governance of London*, 1907, pp. 109–13, traverses, erroneously in my view, Green’s statement on the subject.

³ *Teutonic Mythology*, vol. i, p. 164, trans. Stallybrass. Bede in his account of the Saxons, Angles, and Jutes, refers to the pedigrees of the kings from Woden, *Hist. Eccles.* i. 15.

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It would seem that during the early Middle Ages this pagan divinity still presided over German cities, even as, with reference to the image of Mercurius at Rome, it is recorded in the *Kaiserchronik*:

‘Upon a column
Stood an idol huge,
Him they called their merchant.’¹

Woden, or Mercury, the god of traffickers and merchantmen, would have been singularly appropriate as the presiding idol of the City of London.

St. Erkenwald. The most famous of London’s early bishops was Saint Erkenwald, who, fourth in succession after St. Augustine’s mission, was consecrated in the year 675 as bishop of the East Saxons.² Sprung from a royal house, Erkenwald had previously founded two monasteries, the one at Chertsey in Surrey, over which he himself presided, and the other in Essex, at Barking, for his sister, in which, as Bede puts it, ‘she might live as teacher and foster-mother of women devoted to God. When she took over the government of the monastery, she showed herself in all things worthy to rank with the bishop her brother by a life of piety and discipline, as was afterwards also proved by heavenly marvels.’

¹ See Grimm, as before, vol. i, p. 116; vol. iv, p. 1322. The word I have rendered ‘column’ is the difficult word ‘yrmensûle’ in the original.

² Cp. Bede, IV. vi. ‘Tum etiam Orientalibus Saxonibus . . . Earconwaldum constituit episcopum in civitate Lundonia.’ So our poet calls Erkenwald ‘a byshop in þat burgh’ (l. 3), and ‘bischop at loue London ton’ (l. 34). Erkenwald appears to have been the first bishop of London with St. Paul’s as seat. He might well be considered the traditional founder of the Cathedral. His predecessor Wine was held to be unworthy, having bought the see ‘with a price’. Cedd, the second bishop, was a missionary bishop with no fixed seat, while a period of idolatry succeeded the expulsion of Mellitus, the famous first bishop of London, at whose instance Ethelbert had built the church of St. Paul’s.

See the article on Erkenwald, *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, vol. ii, 177–9, by Bishop Stubbs, and the Rev. W. Hunt’s article in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

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Our poet is evidently referring to Bishop Erkenwald's association with this Essex foundation, when he states that at the time of the discovery of the tomb he 'was parted from home, in Essex was Sir Erkenwald an abbey to visit'. He is said to have done much for the fabric of the cathedral, and was *par excellence* the great bishop of St. Paul's. Many legends attested his holiness, 'as was proved subsequently by signs of heavenly miracles', to quote again from Bede. It was by a miracle that it was decided that his body should be carried to London and buried at St. Paul's, for it would appear that he had died at Barking, and the monks of Chertsey strove with the nuns of Barking for the privileged possession of the bishop's body. He died on April 30, 693. His shrine was the chief glory of Old St. Paul's. Canon Sparrow Simpson states that he was buried in the nave; that in the great fire of London in 1087-8, when the cathedral was destroyed, the legends say that the saint's resting-place alone escaped injury. In 1148 his remains were placed in the east side of the wall above the high altar; in 1326 an even more glorious shrine received them. St. Erkenwald's Shrine at St. Paul's was famous far and wide, and jewels and other precious gifts were lavished on it. There are many references to these benefactions. In 1358 we are told that three goldsmiths were engaged to work upon it for a whole year. It would appear, however, that by 1386 the observance of the days of the saint's death and translation had become somewhat neglected, for in that year Bishop Braybroke, who took a leading part in the politics of the time and had been Chancellor in 1382-3, re-established the two festivals of St. Erkenwald, to be kept as 'first class feasts' at St. Paul's. In 1385 he had taken strong measures against the violation of the sanctity of the cathedral by buying and selling in it, and other like offences. It is hardly necessary in this place to deal with the later history of the

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shrine, concerning which Dugdale, in his *History of St. Paul's*, has much to say.

Descriptive Details in the Poem. Our poet associates the miracle which is the subject of the poem with St. Erkenwald's rebuilding of one part of the old minster, called specifically 'New Work'. He is evidently using a term well known in his time. According to Stow, 'the new work of Paul's (so called) at the east end above the choir was begun in the year 1251', and elsewhere he notes 'also the new work of Paul's, to wit, the cross aisles, were begun to be new builded in the year 1256'.¹ The poet is obviously transferring to the time of Erkenwald the structural additions belonging to the middle of the thirteenth century.

It is generally stated (*e.g.* in Henry Harben's *Dictionary of London*) that the first shops were erected in St. Paul's Churchyard about 1587, and that these were mainly inhabited by stationers; but from our poem it would appear that a couple of centuries before that date the 'Yard' was famous as the centre for the making of rich attire. The poet states, in describing the clothes of the body so long dead, that they were

‘as bright of their blee, in blazing hues,
As they had yarely in that Yard been yesterday shapen.’

The allusion is remarkable from the standpoint of London archaeology, more especially as in our own day St. Paul's Churchyard is commercially associated with millinery and dress. We have here what seems to me to be an interesting glimpse of the immediate environment of the Cathedral at the end of the fourteenth century.

The mention of the bishop's palace² must have reference to

¹ Stow's *Survey of London*, 1603, ed. C. L. Kingsford, 1908, vol. i, p. 326.

² The use of 'palace' as the residence of a bishop within his cathedral city is recorded in English at the end of the thirteenth century. The

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the palace existing at the time of the poet, adjoining the northern side of the nave. From a private door the bishop could pass into the nave.¹

The tomb of the pagan judge, which was found in what is evidently the crypt, was of gray marble stone, beautifully garnished with gargoyle; a canopy above it, also of marble; bright gold letters round the border of it, though in some strange language. The lid was heavy and large, but evidently with no recumbent figure on it. The tomb within was painted with gold. The poet clearly has in mind a typical Gothic tomb, and is not attempting to describe with archaeological exactness a monument belonging to centuries before the Christian era. The description of the tomb of Hector in Guido de Colonna's *Historia Trojana*, which our poet may have read, was at least a more ambitious effort. It would be hazardous to suggest that the *Geste Historiale*, the alliterative rendering of Guido's *Historia*, ante-dated our poem, but, if only for the purposes of comparative study, attention may well be directed to the passage.² Certainly, according to our poet, the grief of Troyevant at the death of the judge almost equalled that of Troy at the loss of the beloved Hector. 'When I died,' says the judge, 'for dole all Troy resounded.'

The pagan judge is described, or rather describes himself, as not only a man of law, a high judge, almost a Lord Chief Justice, but also as deputy-governor of Troyevant, chief

site of the Bishop of London's Palace at St. Paul's is preserved in London House Yard, north out of St. Paul's Churchyard, at nos. 74 and 79, to Paternoster Row. This London House Yard must be differentiated from the yard of the same name on the west side of Aldersgate Street, the site of London House, the residence of the Bishops of London for a time after the Restoration. A further interesting note on the palace of the Bishops of London will be found in H. A. Harben's *Dictionary of London*.

¹ See Sparrow Simpson, *Chapters in the History of Old St. Paul's*, p. 64.

² See alliterative *Destruction of Troy*, ll. 8733-825.

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magistrate of the City of London. He is, in fact, portrayed as holding what later (from the year 1193) would correspond to the office of Mayor of London, only he is the deputy of a duke, evidently the Sub-Regulus referred to in the old chronicles. The Justiciar of London under the Norman and early Plantagenet kings was a well-known dignitary. The office came to an end in the thirteenth century. The lines in which the judge describes himself are important:

‘I was deputy and doomsman under a noble duke,
And in my power this place was put altogether;
I justiced this jolly town in gentlest way.’¹

It is noteworthy that our poet uses the word ‘communnates’, which is very suggestive of association with the Commune of London. The ordinary formula in the *Liber Albus* is ‘concessio maioris et communitatis’. London became a Commune in 1191, and to about the same date belongs the creation of the office of Mayor.

Of special interest, perhaps, is the judge’s earlier reference to himself as ‘an heire of anoye in þe New Troie’. The phrase, as the text stands in the manuscript, has been variously interpreted. Dr. Horstmann suggested ‘ein gefürchteter Herr’, i.e. one held in awe, which is altogether untenable; while Dr. Neilson explained ‘oye’ as ‘grandson’, querying the meaning. From the context and the poetic style of the passage, it would seem that some specific office is referred to, the line being parallel to the statement that follows in the next quatrain, ‘Then was I judge here enjoined in Gentile law’. I make bold to interpret the words of the text as a

¹ On the subject of early London government, see *London and the Kingdom*, Reginald Sharpe, 1894; *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, and *The Commune of London*, by J. H. Round; *The Governance of London*, by Sir Laurence Gomme; also Stubbs’s *Constitutional History*, together with *Studies Supplementary to the History*, by M. Petit-Dutaillis, the latter work dealing with the subject of the Justiciar and Commune.

statement that the judge describes himself as having been a justice *en eyre*, presiding over a court of *oyer et determiner*.¹ It is of interest that from at least the twelfth century the 'iudices itinerantes' heard cases at the Stone Cross in the Strand; see Stow's *Survey*.²

If one were forced to find sense in the words without any change, they could only mean 'an heir of anger' = a child of wrath = one not an heir of everlasting life, a pagan; *cp.* Eph. ii. 3. Against this must, however, be weighed the parallelism noted to l. 216. The judge has already referred to his paganism in ll. 203-4.

Chronological Problems. The pagan judge is made to give what appears to be the exact date of the time when he lived. As the text stands, it is indeed, to quote the judge himself, 'a lappid date'. According to the reading of the manuscript, ll. 205-12, 482 years after the building of London equates with 1054 b.c. This would give 1536 b.c. as the date of the building of London. But the date indicated by Geoffrey of Monmouth for the building of London is the time when Eli the priest governed in Judea, and the Ark of the Covenant was taken by the Philistines. The accepted date for the beginning of Eli's judgeship is 1156 b.c.³ He judged forty years according to the Hebrew text, and twenty according to the Septuagint, his death being associated with the taking of the Ark. The date of the building of London is therefore either 1116 b.c. or 1136 b.c.

Further, the judge explains that he lived in the reign of King Belinus, the brother of Brennius whom Geoffrey identi-

¹ The spelling 'heyre' is a fairly common spelling of 'eyre', and is used by Britton and others; see Note on l. 211.

² Stow's *Survey of London*, 1908, vol. ii, p. 93.

³ See Bede's *Chronicle of the Six Ages of the World*, a work evidently used generally for purposes of chronology (*Complete Works of Venerable Bede*, Giles, 1843, vol. vi, p. 134).

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fied with the Brennus of early Roman history, and no reader of Geoffrey of Monmouth could possibly have dated any event of the reign of Belinus a thousand and more years B.C., as has been done by the scribe of the present text.

The manuscripts of Geoffrey of Monmouth often give rubries or other additions stating the actual dates of the events described, and these computations are followed by mediaeval and later chroniclers, and are found in Holinshed and other Elizabethan historians. Belinus and Brennius were the sons of Mulmutius, who died 354 years after the building of Rome (B.C. 753). This should give us 399 B.C., so that at all events the date given by our scribe, 1054 B.C., must be wrong. And we may safely assume that his ‘pou-sande’ was due to a misreading of *iij^e* as the symbol much resembling it, M *i.e.* 1000. The line should therefore read :

‘Pre hundred ȝere & þritty mo & ȝet threnen aghþ,’
i.e. 354. The date is not absolutely correct, but very nearly so, and I infer that the poet or his authority has taken the actual date of the beginning of Belinus’s reign, computed as from the building of Rome, *i.e.* 354 A.U.C., erroneously as the date B.C.

As regards l. 208, ‘noȝt bot fife hundred ȝere þer aghtene wontyd’, it is the only line throughout the whole poem where the alliteration entirely fails, and had an f-alliteration been required, the poet would have found no difficulty in indicating 482 by such a correct line as, ‘noȝt bot foure hundred ȝere and foure score & tweyne’. The ‘fife’ has evidently been due to a scribal effort to meet in some way or other the difficulty occasioned by the change from 300 to 1,000 in l. 210. The poet must have written either ‘one’ or ‘aught’ where we now have ‘fife’. The former may be ruled out as the poet would know that many monarchs had reigned

between Brute and Belinus; the latter may therefore be accepted, and accordingly the line gives us 782.

The date 782 years from the building of London is equivalent to 354 b.c. Accordingly, our poet must have taken 1136 b.c. for the building of London, which is the date indicated by Geoffrey if the Septuagint chronology with reference to Eli is adopted.

Misunderstanding the erroneous l. 210 as it stands in the manuscript, Dr. Horstmann, and all who have written on the subject, interpret the date given by the dead judge as 1033 b.c., ignoring the fact that 'threnen agh̄t = 3×8 , i.e. 24, which added to 1030 must make 1054. Dr. Neilson even finds confirmation for the 1033 by taking certain rubricated dates in the Hunterian MS. of Geoffrey of Monmouth to corroborate the 'legendary arithmetic', as he calls it, of the poem. Finding one date A.M. 4482, and subtracting from it another date A.M. 3449, he declares the interval between, 1033 years, to be the date given by the dead judge! Even so careful a scholar as Professor Wells, in his *Manual of the Writings in Middle English*, accepts the error, and makes the reign of King Belin cover the year 1033 b.c.

Belinus and Brennius were the sons of the famous Dunwallo Molmutius, the first to gain the sceptre of Britain. Geoffrey of Monmouth tells us that 'having made entire reduction of the island, he prepared himself a crown of gold, and restored the kingdom to its ancient state. This prince established what Britons call the Molmutine laws, which are famous among the English to this day.'¹ These laws are said to have enacted the privilege of sanctuary, and to have done much to prevent murder and cruelties, and to have promoted public security and justice.

After a reign of forty years he died and was buried in the

¹ Bk. II, ch. 17.

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city of Trinovantum, near the Temple of Concord which he himself built when he first established his laws.

Geoffrey states that Belinus revived and confirmed the Molmutine laws, especially those relating to highways, and adds that ‘if any one is curious to know all that he decreed, let him read the *Molmutine Laws* which Gildas the historian translated from British into Latin, and King Alfred into English’.¹ Into the quarrels between the two brothers, Brennius and Belinus, to which our poet refers, ll. 213–15, and to their ultimate friendship by the mediation of their mother, it is not necessary to enter. A full account is given in Geoffrey’s history. Brennius staying in Italy, Belinus returned to Britain, and governed in peace during the remainder of his life. To Londoners he was especially endeared by the gate of wonderful structure which he erected on the banks of the Thames, ‘which the citizens call after his name Belingsgate, *i. e.* Billingsgate, to this day. Over it he built a prodigiously large tower, and under it a haven or quay for ships.’ His ashes were put in a golden urn on the top of this tower.

In closing the account of Belin, Geoffrey emphasizes that he was a strict observer of justice, and re-established his father’s laws everywhere throughout the kingdom.

It is noteworthy that his son Gurgiunt Brabture followed his father’s example in every respect. He, too, was a lover of peace and justice.

The pagan judge belonged appropriately to the reign of King Belin, this prince of justice. I cannot agree with Dr. Neilson that the dead judge is a poetic equation of Dunwallo, the father of King Belin. It is true that Dunwallo, even as the judge, died after forty years’ rule; but ‘forty’ is a commonplace conventional term for a generation,

¹ Bk. III, ch. 5.

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derived from the Biblical use of the number. Moreover, the poet is most anxious to insist on the fact that the pagan was neither king nor kaiser, but a man of law. His highest position was that of ‘deputy and doomsman under a noble duke’. The crown he wore was not of kingship, but the crown of the righteous judge (ll. 253–5), and can hardly have been suggested by the golden diadem that Dunwallo made for himself as supreme king of Britain. Though placed upon the judge’s head by his pagan fellow-citizens, the crown he wore was as it were an anticipatory emblem of the crown of righteousness laid up for him by the Righteous Judge, even as is said by St. Paul in 2 Tim. iv. 7–8, ‘I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith: henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness’. The judge had fought the good fight, though he had often to suffer for righteousness’ sake (l. 232).

Dr. Neilson further calls attention to the statement in Geoffrey of Monmouth as regards Belinus, the successor of Dunwallo, that when he died ‘his ashes were laid in a case or coffin of gold’, and suggests some connexion between this cinerary golden urn on Billingsgate and the marble tomb containing the richly clad body of the judge in the crypt of St. Paul’s. This suggestion well illustrates to what lengths parallelism can be drawn.

Source of the Legend. No direct source for this miracle of St. Erkenwald has so far been discovered. Extant literature concerning St. Erkenwald, other than this English poem, makes no mention of this legend. The most important collection of his miracles, *Miracula Sancti Erkenwaldi*,¹ preserved

¹ See *Manuscripts at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, by M. R. James; also *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials*, by Sir T. D. Hardy; also Stubbs’s article in *Dict. Christ. Biog.* This life of Erkenwald and the collection of Miracles were composed by the nephew of the famous ‘Gilbert the Universal’, Bishop of London during the early part of the twelfth century.

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in a twelfth-century MS. (Parker 161) at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, notwithstanding the erroneous statement of Professor J. R. Hulbert, does not include this miracle, as has been well known for some twenty years.¹

The absence of this miracle from the Cambridge manuscript makes it most improbable that any such miracle was in early times associated with Erkenwald. As an Erkenwald legend it would seem therefore to be at all events later than that compilation.

The study of the poem from the archaeological point of view has revealed, as I have attempted to show, that in the treatment of the theme the poet has allowed full play to his imagination, both as regards the historical facts connected with the history of St. Paul's, the treatment of the theme generally, and especially the association of the pagan judge with the reign of King Belin. His careful reading of Geoffrey of Monmouth and Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* for

¹ Dr. Hulbert in his article, 'The sources of *St. Erkenwald* and *The Trental of Gregory*', *Modern Philology*, 1919, definitely states that the Latin source is in the *Miracula Sancti Erkenwaldi*, and quotes as his authority Horstmann's *Altenglische Legenden*, Neue Folge, 1881, p. 528. It is only fair to Dr. Horstmann to state that he does not say this. He uses the word 'wohl', i.e. the legend is in all probability to be found there.

Dr. Neilson in *Huchown of the Awle Ryale*, 1902, states that the Corpus Christi College MS. 'does not at all account for the detailed and romantically specific story. Miss Mary Bateson most obligingly put herself to the trouble of examining this MS. for me.' In spite of this statement, the first sentence of which alone he quotes in a foot-note, Dr. Hulbert writes about the compiler of the Latin *Miracula* being perhaps actually the first person to attach the present legend to Erkenwald, 'and perhaps his narrative is the direct source of the English poem'. Later on he theorizes on a possible intermediary between the Latin legend and the English poem!

Miss Laura Hibbard, not knowing that the non-inclusion of the legend in the MS. had long ago been established, in her article in *Modern Philology*, April, 1920, called attention to Dr. Hulbert's error, though again she imputes to Dr. Horstmann the assertion which he did not make, that the manuscript was 'the immediate source of the poem'.

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effective details, and many of his subtle touches, suggest that here the creative skill of a poet is exercising itself.

In an article which appeared in *Modern Philology*,¹ Miss Laura Hibbard called attention to what seemed to be an important piece of evidence tending to prove that there was current in London, at the time our poet was writing, some well-known story concerning the head of a judge found in the crypt of St. Paul's. She found that apparently John de Bromyard, the famous Dominican of the second half of the fourteenth century, the author of the most notable collection of *Exempla*, well known in manuscript, and often reprinted, entitled *Summa Praedicantium*, had twice in this work referred to this incident: 'Nota de judice cuius caput Londonis in fundamentum [sic] ecclesiae Sancti Pauli inventum fuit, etc.': and deduced from the evidence before her that the story was so well known that the author found it unnecessary to say more. She concluded that Bromyard knew that a head had some time or other been found, or was alleged to have been found, in the crypt of St. Paul's, and that it was known to be that of a judge. Further, this reference, in the printed text, occurs among Bromyard's *exempla* of justice.

Unfortunately, although this allusion to the discovery of the judge's head in the crypt of St. Paul's is found in the printed editions of Bromyard, it would seem from the study of available manuscripts to be a later interpolation. It is not found in the great vellum manuscript, Brit. Mus. Roy. 7 E. iv. of the late fourteenth century, though the manuscript shows many marginal additions.² It seems to belong

¹ *Modern Philology*, 'Erkenwald the Belgian, a Study in Medieval Exempla of Justice', 1920.

² The MS. at Peterhouse, Cambridge, belonging to the fourteenth-fifteenth century, is also without the interpolated passage. The MS. at Oriel College, Oxford, belonging to the fifteenth century, omits the whole passage following the words 'ei iusticiam fecit' (see Appendix, p. 53).

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not to the original work, which was written after 1323, but to some late manuscript, as it is peculiar to the printed editions. Bromyard, said to have been one of the Doctors of Theology present at the congregation which condemned Wyclif in 1382, was Chancellor of Cambridge University in 1383. For his collection of exempla, arranged alphabetically according to the qualities exemplified, he sought his materials far and wide, and he adduces many references to contemporary legends. It is, indeed, remarkable that, if such a legend existed, Bromyard did not refer to it under the head of justice, where he instances Trajan, the righteous pagan emperor who miraculously received the crown of righteousness, and where he quotes in this connexion the passage from 2 Tim. iv. The manner in which the allusion to the head of the judge at St. Paul's is brought in, in the printed text, immediately after the reference to Trajan, has all the appearance of an interpolation, due to a late marginal addition. The 'etc.' at the end of the Note is noteworthy, so too the error of 'fundamentum' for 'fundamento'. Moreover, even on the evidence of the printed texts, Miss Hibbard is wrong in her statement that there are two references. There is only one; the cross-reference which she has evidently taken as the second is merely another reference to the Trajan story.¹

At the same time, it is not likely (though not impossible) that the interpolation in the printed text of Bromyard was a direct allusion to the present poem. With our poem in mind, one would hardly mention merely the head of the judge. On the whole, I am inclined to think the interpolation, due to some marginal addition in a late Bromyard manuscript, may be independent of our poem, though later in date.

On the assumption that the reference is independent, we may conjecture from the context that the head miraculously spoke,

¹ See Appendix, p. 54.

and explained that it was that of a pagan judge who, having acted righteously, was allowed to await baptism.

The allusion could hardly be to some recent discovery; and there is nothing to support Miss Hibbard's view that the statement might record some actual discovery made in Bromyard's own time, during the building and repairing that went on in the old church. 'It would not be at all surprising', she writes, 'if the workmen did actually come upon a Roman sarcophagus, and bones of the Roman dead.' But how would they know that it was a judge? Moreover, the allusion is to the head of a judge. Such an alleged discovery would much more probably be referred to some century or more before, say to the period of the 'New Work', *i.e.* about the middle of the thirteenth century, which period of rebuilding the poet evidently had in mind.

The Legend of Trajan and the Miracle of St. Gregory. The interpolated reference to the head found at St. Paul's follows Bromyard's detailed account of the famous miracle wrought by St. Gregory on behalf of the pagan emperor Trajan,—

‘l’alta gloria
Del roman principato, il cui valore
Mosse Gregorio alla sua gran vittoria.’

The legend, to which Dante refers in the well-known passages in *Purgatorio* x. 73–75, and *Paradiso* xx. 106–17, was widely current throughout the Middle Ages, and took a variety of forms.¹

¹ The following are the chief studies on the subject, or relevant matters:

La Légende de Trajan, by Gaston Paris, Bibliothèque de l’École des Hautes Études, Fasc. 35, 1878. This comprehensive study deals with (1) the legend of Trajan and the widow, (2) Trajan and St. Gregory, and (3) the origin of the legend. The article contains full bibliographical references.

Chapter XII of Arturo Graf's *Roma nella memoria e nelle immaginazioni*

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In the *Purgatorio*, Dante sees the story of Trajan and the widow portrayed among the examples of humility in Circle I of Purgatory. In the *Paradiso*, Trajan is placed between David and Hezekiah in the ‘cielo di Giove’, among the spirits of the just, the others being Constantine, William II of Sicily, and the Trojan Ripheus. The last named is the only real Gentile, though we are told that the three dames, Faith, Hope, and Charity, stood as baptism for him ‘more than a thousand years before baptizing.¹ The case of Trajan was different. To him was granted a second life, and hence a ‘second death’. Dante dwells particularly on the presence in Paradise of Trajan and Ripheus, who with the other four are arranged in the shape of the eye and eyebrow of an eagle, the other spirits of this heaven forming the eagle itself. David is the pupil of the eye. While the eagle speaks, ‘the two blessed lights’ of Trajan and Ripheus ‘as the beating of

del medio evo, Torino, 1882, treats the subject of Trajan, and owes much to the previous study.

Earlier considerations of the legend are referred to by both writers; perhaps the most striking are those to be found in the *Annales Ecclesiastici* of Baronius (1538–1607) and in the *De Controversiis* of Bellarmine (1542–1621). These two sixteenth-century cardinals rejected the miracle as utterly fictitious.

Giacomo Boni, in his article entitled ‘Leggende’, *Nuova Antologia*, Rome, 1906, discusses and illustrates the Trajan legend from the standpoint of sculptural and numismatic pictorial art. See also Mrs. Arthur Strong’s *Roman Sculpture from Augustus to Constantine*, 1907.

Concerning St. Gregory, the student is referred to the Rev. F. Homes Dudden’s *Gregory the Great*, 2 vols., London, 1905, and Sir Henry H. Howorth’s *Saint Gregory the Great*, 1912.

See, also, the articles in *Modern Philology*, 1919–20, already referred to.

¹ The great philosophers, *e.g.* Aristotle, Socrates, Plato, men of science and poets, are in Limbo—Circle I—‘a place not sad with torments, but with darkness alone’, ep. *Purgatorio*, vii. 28–9.

Cato, the lover of liberty, whom Virgil describes as the lawgiver among the righteous dead in Elysium, has exceptionally a place in Purgatory.

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the eyes concordeth' flash together at the two ends.¹ Ripheus is a character cursorily mentioned by Virgil in the *Aeneid*, and notably in *Aeneid* ii. 426–7:

‘ Cadit et Ripheus, iustissimus unus,
Qui fuit in Teuceris, et servantissimus aequi.’

Nothing is known of him otherwise, and his introduction in the *Paradiso* seems entirely due to Dante's reading of Virgil. It has often been wondered at, and I am not aware that any explanation has been forthcoming. I would suggest that Dante, in dealing with the subject of Trajan, was interested in the very common form of the name as ‘Trojanus’, which seemed to mean ‘the Trojan’. The form of the name may have been due to the well-known attempt to link the Romans and other modern peoples with ancient Troy, and to claim descent from Aeneas and his progeny. Indeed, to this fond belief may possibly be due the ennobling of Trajan and the transference to him from Hadrian of some of his good qualities, for, indeed, it would appear that the story of his generosity belonged originally to Hadrian, whence the anecdote of the widow.² Dante, knowing that Trojanus was not the

¹ See Appendix, pp. 50, 51.

² Trajan lived A.D. 53–117, and his triumphs spread his fame far and wide. The main point in connexion with the legend is his attitude towards the early Christians, as regards which one must study his correspondence, and especially the famous letter to Pliny in which he deals with the treatment of the Christians. It is, on the whole, not harsh; at the same time some Christian writers, e.g. Tertullian, regarded him as a monster, while others seem to have praised his sense of justice. Pliny's panegyric may have helped to maintain Trajan's fair fame, for his reputation for justice must have been traditional to have produced, whatever accretions may have been added, his identification with justice *par excellence*.

Mr. E. G. Hardy, in *Pliny's Correspondence with Trajan*, emphasizes ‘the double aspect of Trajan's rescript, which, while it theoretically condemned the Christians, practically gave them a certain security’. Hence, as he advances, ‘the different views which have since been taken of it; but by most of the Church writers, and perhaps on the whole with justice, it has

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correct form of the name, found in the pages of the *Aeneid* a true Trojan who was conspicuously just. Even so, the poet of Erkenwald, who is obviously keenly interested in the Brutus story, acclaims the righteousness of the pagan judge of the New Troy.

It is of no little interest to note that the earliest record of the Trajan legend belongs to this country ; and is found in the oldest extant life of St. Gregory written in Latin by a monk of Whitby, probably about 713. This long lost life of the great apostle of the English was known to Bede and to the early biographers of Gregory, namely Paulus Diaconus and Johannes Diaconus, though later lost. Extant only in one manuscript, preserved at St. Gall, it was rediscovered by Paul Ewald in 1886, and was fully printed for the first time by Cardinal Gasquet in 1904.¹ Consequently, Gaston Paris, writing on the legend of Trajan in 1878, and Arturo Graf, dealing with the same theme in 1889, did not have before them this most valuable document, and they often refer to the lost Anglo-Saxon legend. Professor Hulbert, writing in 1919, still speaks of the life of Paulus Diaconus as the earliest form of the story. The interesting point, however, is that the Monk of Whitby, evidently doubting the orthodoxy of the miracle, refers it to the Romans, ‘quidam quoque de nostris dicunt narratum a Romanis’, whilst, as Cardinal Gasquet points out, and as is often

been regarded as favourable, and as rather discouraging persecution than legalizing it’ (p. 63). In Rome, the glories of the Trajan Forum served to keep alive pride in his greatness and traditional magnanimity, and stimulated the desire to make him the link between Romans of the faith and their pagan progenitors.

¹ *A Life of Pope St. Gregory the Great*, written by a monk of the monastery of Whitby (probably about A. D. 713), now for the first time fully printed from MS. Gallen 567, by Francis Aidan Gasquet (Abbot-President of the English Benedictines), Westminster, 1904. See Appendix, p. 49.

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emphasized by earlier ecclesiastics, the Roman John, who had this text before him, says that the doubtful legend belongs to the English church, ‘legitur etiam penes easdem Anglorum ecclesias’. The great problem for the Monk of Whitby was summed up in his statement: ‘nemo enim sine baptismo Deum videbit unquam’.

The unwillingness readily to accept the miracle of the pagan Trajan’s deliverance from hell was due to extreme doubt as to whether the great pope would have been guilty of praying for the unbelieving righteous dead, seeing that in his *Moralia*¹ he definitely states that the saints do not do this, because they shrink from the merit of their prayer, concerning those whom they already know to be condemned to eternal punishment, being made void before that countenance of the Just Judge. The legend therefore seemed to be inconsistent with Gregory’s own words. Accordingly, it was looked on with suspicion, and it is noteworthy that Bede, in his Life of St. Gregory, does not record it, though he knew the Monk of Whitby’s Life. All the same, the legend maintained itself; and later, Gregory was represented as having to pay a penalty for his wrong action, even though, as some versions put it, the pope’s prayer may merely have alleviated Trajan’s pain, and not have freed him from the prison of hell. For praying for a pagan Gregory had to choose one of two penalties, to pass two days (in some versions less) in purgatory, or during all the days of his life to languish in sickness. He chose long sickness in this world rather than the briefest stay in Purgatory.² This form of the legend is found in Godfrey

¹ *Moralia*, Lib. xxxiv, cap. 19.

² The preference of long sickness to passing two days in Purgatory is found, without reference to St. Gregory, among mediaeval exempla; v. *The Exempla of Jacques de Vitry*, ed. T. F. Crane, Folk-Lore Society, 1890, p. evi.

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of Viterbo, *Speculum Regum*, c. 1152–90,¹ and in the *Fiori di Filosofi*, formerly attributed to Brunetto Latini, and in the Golden Legend of Jacobus de Voragine (c. 1230 to c. 1298), which was translated into French in the fourteenth century, into English by Caxton in the fifteenth, and which was generally known throughout Europe. The suggestion of this penalty seems to have been inferred from Paul the Deacon's equivocal Latin, and is actually found added at the end of a late manuscript of Gregory's *Dialogues*.²

This legend of Trajan became almost a test case among mediaeval theologians, on the much debated question whether an infidel could, by any chance, escape from the eternal punishment of hell. St. Thomas Aquinas, in his *Summa Theologica*,³ discusses the theme at great length, and seems

¹ The versions of Godfrey of Viterbo's Latin poem on the subject seem to vary, for MS. B.M. Add. 11670 does not give the lines referring to Gregory's penalty. The legend ends with the angel's statement to Gregory after he has made his prayer for Trajan :

‘Scis quia non habuit baptismatis ille sigillum.
Quomodo cum lacrimis dona neganda petis?
Ast, homo [t]u pacis, opus expetis hoc pietatis,
Iste modo requiem te lacrimante capit.’

In the margin, however, in the same or a contemporary hand of the fourteenth century, there is a long side-note, which summarizes the story in prose, and ends with the statement ‘quia pro pagano orasti, omni tempore in femore claudicabis’. These words seem to be a prose paraphrase of some version from which Gaston Paris quotes the couplet :

‘Angelico pulsu femur eius tempore multo
Claudicat, et poenae corpore signa tenet.’

The poem is printed from various MSS. in Pertz, *Scriptores Germanici*, xxii, pp. 21–93; the lines quoted by Gaston Paris do not, however, occur here.

² Baronius, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, sub. 604, vol. xi, pp. 58–66.

³ *Summa Theologica*, II. ii. 2. 7 :—‘ Multis gentilium facta fuit revelatio de Christo . . . Sibylla etiam praenuntiavit quaedam de Christo . . . Si qui tamen salvati fuerunt quibus revelatio non fuit facta, non fuerunt salvati absque fide Mediatoris. Quia etsi non habuerunt fidem explicatam, habuerunt tamen fidem implicatam in divina providentia, credentes Deum esse liberatorem hominum secundum modos sibi placitos et secundum

to be of opinion, with others who attempted to deal with the problem from a strict theological standpoint, that Gregory's prayers might have brought Trajan to life, and given him thus the chance by merit and grace of escaping; or, otherwise, that the soul of Trajan was not freed from eternal punishment, but that the punishment was held in suspense for a time, namely, till the Day of Judgement.¹ Elsewhere he suggests that Trajan was predestined to be saved by Gregory's prayers.

Perhaps the oldest reference to the grave being opened, and the soul coming back to the body and being entrusted to St. Gregory, is to be found in the *Kaiserchronik*, the Middle High German history of Roman and German emperors, belonging to about 1150. Nothing is said there of speech.²

St. Thomas Aquinas seems to have known some such version of the legend wherein Trajan was brought to life, notwithstanding that his cinerary urn was in a chamber below the great column that bore his name in the Forum. Ignoring this some one must have created the story of the discovery of the head and other remains of the emperor. That the tongue should be intact and able to answer the questions put to it by the pope was a natural corollary. The power of speech, indicative of life, made it possible for the resuscitated pagan to be baptized, and thus to pass to grace as a righteous Christian and not as a righteous infidel. It is of interest that St. Thomas Aquinas, in the discussion to which I have referred, quotes from St. John Damascene the legend of

quod aliquibus veritatem cognoscentibus Spiritus revelasset.' This passage is of special interest with reference to Dante, *Paradiso*, Canto xix; *cp. Canto xx, l. 130, 'O predestinazio'.*

¹ St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, III, Suppl. Quaestio LXXI, Art. V.

² *Kaiserchronik*, ed. H. F. Massmann, Quedlinburg and Leipzig, 1849, II. 5859-6116.

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St. Macharius, who finding by chance a skull, learnt from it in answer to his question that it was the head of a pagan priest, damned in hell, and yet he and others had been helped by the prayer of Macharius. From this St. Thomas goes on to deal with the story of Trajan, which, he notes, is also mentioned by John Damascene (*fl.* first half of the eighth century) in the same work. There was, accordingly, good precedent for the speaking head of a pagan. That this form of the miracle co-existed with the simpler form found in the early lives of St. Gregory can be inferred from literature subsequent to St. Thomas Aquinas. Dante seems certainly to have in mind some such version of the miracle as is given by his earliest commentator, Jacopo della Lana, who wrote about 1326.¹ It should be noted that in the *Fiori di Filosofi*, a work formerly attributed to Brunetto Latini, Dante's teacher, St. Gregory is said to have had Trajan's grave opened in consequence of his having heard the story of the emperor's justice to the widow, and to have found that all had turned to earth except the bones and the tongue, which was 'sana e fresca' as of a living man.² By this evidence Gregory recognized the emperor's justice, wept for pity, and prayed to God that He would free him and take him from the pain of hell. An angel came, and told him that his prayer had been heard, but because he had asked this boon against reason the choice of punishment was imposed upon him. But Trajan was freed from the pains of hell, and went to Paradise through his own justice and through Gregory's prayers. Applying St. Thomas Aquinas's view of pre-

¹ See Appendix, p. 51.

² Though it is stated that the miracle of the tongue in the *Fiori* is found in the *Speculum Regum* of Godfrey of Viterbo, the incident is not found in the poem as printed in Pertz, but in certain MSS. there is a prose addition where it is stated that the tongue appeared fresh as that of a living man.

destination to some version differing in treatment from the story in the *Fiori*, where not only were the bones discovered, but life was vouchsafed to them, Dante emphasizes that ‘the glorious soul [of Trajan] returned to the flesh, where it abode short space, believed in Him who had the power to aid it, and believing, kindled into so great a flame of very love, that at the second death it was worthy to come unto this mirth’, of Paradise. And the poet explains that this return of the soul into the bones was the reward of ‘living hope, which had put might into the prayers made unto God to raise him up, that his will [*i.e.* Trajan’s] might have power to be moved’.¹ Dante’s version of the story was evidently nearer that given by Jacopo della Lana than to that in the *Fiori*.² Della Lana had before him a narrative telling how workmen had discovered bones and a skull, with the tongue fresh and

¹ See above (p. xlivi) on St. Thomas Aquinas and predestination. William of Auxerre, c. 1150—c. 1230, in his *Sentences* seems to have had this view as to the predestination of Trajan. He states as follows : Non est contra iusticiam dei aliquem revocare a statu culpe ad statum gratie in quo mereatur et postea salvetur : sed hoc est contra iusticiam dei aliquid remittere de pena cum nichil remittatur de culpa ; nec erat Traianus damnatus diffinitiva penitus sententia : immo ad vitam revocandus erat precibus beati Gregorii ’ (Bk. IV, tract. 14).

The words ‘state of grace’ seem to imply baptism, and are so understood by Chacon in his *Historia ceu verissima a columnis multorum vindicata*. See Venice edition of 1588, p. 21. William of Auxerre evidently elsewhere emphasizes the point that Trajan was revived, baptized, repented of his past deeds, suddenly died, and went to heaven; for Giaccone in his work on the legend, Siena, 1595, discusses the improbability of this, and in the literature on the subject William’s views are frequently quoted.

² It does not seem to me that the *Fiori* version is taken from the *Speculum Historiale* of Vincent de Beauvais, c. 1190—c. 1264. Though the story of Trajan is given, there is no mention of St. Gregory or of the miracle. In the *Policraticus* of John of Salisbury, c. 1115–80, we have both the story of Trajan’s justice and Gregory’s intercession, and the warning given to him that such intercession for an infidel should not be repeated ; but nothing concerning the discovery of the remains.

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intact, how the rumour reached Gregory, how he conjured the head to speak ; it told its story, that it was the head of Trajan who was in hell as being a pagan. Thereupon Gregory, learning of Trajan's act of justice to the widow, prayed for him, and Trajan was saved. Dante would hardly have accepted the statement in the *Fiori* and the *Golden Legend* that Gregory was subjected to punishment for his intercession. It is noteworthy that in none of these early versions do we get any distinct mention of the baptism of the resuscitated body.

In pictorial art we have a valuable illustrative document in the famous Berne tapestry, copied from the pictures by Roger van der Weyden, the great Flemish painter, c. 1400–1464. Four pictures, which were later destroyed in the bombardment of the town by the French in 1695, were painted by him for the Hall of Justice in the Town Hall at Brussels. Soon after 1485 he held the position of town-painter. We have here a striking representation of the legend, showing in the first panel Gregory praying, and in the second, the head and tongue of Trajan being submitted to the pope, at whose side is a baptismal ewer. Beneath, an account is given of the purport of the picture, ending with the words, ‘cum beatus papa Gregorius rem tam difficilem a Deo suis precibus impetrare meruisset, corpus Trayani iam versum in pulverem reverenter detegens, linguam eius quasi hominis vivi integrum adinvenit, quod propter iusticiam quam lingua sua persolvit pie creditur contigisse’. There was evidently a similar painting in the Town Hall of Cologne.¹

¹ Cp. Gaston Paris, p. 282. Commendatore Boni gives this and other illustrations. Miss Hibbard, in her article on ‘Erkenbald the Belgian’, deals excellently with these tapestries in relation to her theory, and adds some useful bibliography. Cp. also Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *Early Flemish Painters*, 1857.

The Cologne Chronicle¹ describes the painting, and tells how, when Trajan's bones were taken up, the tongue was found as flesh and blood, but as soon as the head had been baptized, resolved to dust. The Cologne picture may well have been copied from the Brussels paintings, if not by Van der Weyden himself. In the history of tapestry the Brussels frescoes hold an important place, having evidently been often reproduced by the 'tapissiers' of Arras. The Bernese tapestries were captured by the Swiss from Charles the Bold in 1476.

A general survey of all these forms indicates the following main stages of the legend :

(1) The earliest versions tell how St. Gregory was touched by the story of Trajan's magnanimity in rendering justice to a widow for her slain (or injured) son, though at the moment of her appearing before him he was setting out for war; and how, by the prayer of the pope, the pagan emperor was freed from hell. In this first form of the legend, the pope recalls Trajan's act of justice as he walks through the Trajan Forum. Trajan's magnanimity seems to have been illustrated by some mural sculpture, probably on the Arch of Trajan, though modern authorities are inclined to hold that the supplianting widow was a representation of some province. In some versions it is the emperor's own son who was guilty, and who was given by the emperor to the widow as a just compensation.

(2) In the second stage the opening of Trajan's tomb dis-

¹ Massmann dates the Cologne Chronicle which he uses as 1494. It is noteworthy in dealing with the whole story and describing the pictures, that the chronicler says that it was after seeing the Trajan Column and admiring it that Gregory prayed for Trajan, that he might not be lost though he was a heathen. Then, when Gregory had received Divine intimation that his prayer had been granted, the remains were dug up at Rome. The motto on the picture was 'Iustus ego barathro gentilis solvor ab atro.'

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closes the remains of a dead body, the skull, with the tongue, being intact. Either this is taken as evidence of Trajan's justice, or the tongue is made to speak. In this case it, in answer to Gregory's bidding, tells that the remains are those of Trajan, and that the emperor, being a pagan, is in hell. It then narrates the story of his act of justice towards the widow, and St. Gregory's prayers, with or without the baptism of the remains, are effective in releasing Trajan from the pains of hell, and gaining for him the reward of the righteous. In other versions, Gregory, either before the discovery or after, recalls the merit of Trajan in his justice towards the widow.

(3) In the next stage, the emperor becomes transformed into an unnamed pagan judge, who had never swerved from justice, and who on that account is allowed to await salvation through baptism ; and the legend evidently becomes localized in different places. Thus we have the story recorded ¹ that in Vienna, *circa* 1200, a head was found, with tongue and lips intact, and, in answer to the bishop's questioning, replied : 'Ego eram paganus et iudex in hoc loco, nec unquam lingua mea protulit iniquam sententiam, quare etiam mori non possum, donec aqua baptismi renatus, ad coelum evolem, quare propter hoc hanc gratiam apud Deum merui. Baptizato igitur

¹ Werner Rolevinck, the German theologian and annalist, author of the popular *Fasciculus Temporum* (1425–1502) gives this story in ch. 3 of his Latin work *De Antiquorum Saxonum Ritu*, first printed in 1478, and often subsequently reprinted. Rolevinck is evidently quoting from some annals or historical work or collection of exempla in which this incident is given as happening at Vienna about 1200. He certainly did not invent it, which might have been suspected, had he mentioned it in connexion with Westphalia. The whole passage is of interest, and as the book is rare, I print it in the Appendix. I have no doubt the assignment to about 1200 is due to an attempt to connect the legend with the early history of the Cathedral of St. Stephen, which was originally a twelfth-century building, though later rebuilt.

capite, statim lingua in favillam corruit, et spiritus ad Dominum evolavit.'

The Transformation of the Trajan Legend to the Miracle of St. Erkenwald. Such a version as this last may well have become localized in London and associated with St. Paul's, though it is strange that, as it seems, it was unknown to Bromyard, and yet known to the interpolator. Some such Latin record our author may have had before him when he wrote,

' & as þai m[u]kkyde & mynyde, a meruayle þai founden,
As ȝet in crafty cronecles is kyddie þe memorie' (ll. 43-4).

All the same, he certainly knew and availed himself of the widespread Gregory-Trajan story. He further developed the legend, and clad the remains with sumptuous robes, untouched by time, a treatment of his theme derived from the lives of the saints.

Indebted to Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* for many a hint, he deliberately transferred to the story of the finding of the body of the pagan judge, the account he found in Bede of the translation of St. Cuthbert, when his body, some eleven years after burial, was discovered to be uncorrupted 'quasi adhuc viveret', with its vestments not only whole, but with all their original freshness and marvellous brightness. The bishop was then far away from the church, and the messengers took him some part of the garments.¹ Under the influence of this passage, the English poet has worked his transformation, but his indebtedness to other Latin ecclesiastical histories can be inferred.²

¹ Bk. IV, ch. xxx.

² Thus the words found in the Life of St. Erkenwald in Capgrave's *Nova Legenda Angliae* (ed. Horstmann, i, p. 396), 'et tamen nec filum pallii sepulchro superpositi naturam suam perdidit aut colorem mutavit', remind one of our poet's phrase, 'his colour & his clothe', l. 148; *cp. l. 263.* It seems to me that one can detect in the poem the evidence of a Latin original, not only in such a phrase as this, but elsewhere, e.g.

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The general embellishment was inspired by the love of decorative description that characterized the alliterative poets. The closing lines of the poem, describing how, when the tongue ceased its utterance, ‘the blee of the body was black as the mould’, and resolved itself into dust, reads like a paraphrase of some such words as those quoted above, that the tongue fell to dust, and the spirit hastened to the Lord.

If the Gregory-Trajan miracle had become localized in London and at St. Paul’s, without the names of bishop or judge, as in the case of the Vienna legend, it would have been natural to associate the miracle with St. Erkenwald, more especially at a time when renewed enthusiasm was being stirred for the due observance of the feast-days held in his honour as the most renowned of London’s bishops, whose rich shrine was the glory of the cathedral, and an object of veneration far and wide.

The ascription of the miracle to St. Erkenwald may well have been due to our poet. He may have derived the transferred legend of the finding of the head of a pagan judge in the foundations of St. Paul’s from some lost record, not widely current, to which small credence was given even by such a collector of exempla as Bromyard, if he knew of it.

‘þe bryȝt bourne of þin eghen’, l. 330; compared with the many phrases expressing outburst of tears, and especially such a phrase as the following from the *Life of St. Dunstan*, ed. Stubbs, p. 50: ‘røre lacrymarum . . . quas . . . Sanctus quoque Spiritus . . . ex oculorum rivulis potenter elicuit.’

Of course there are reminiscences of the characteristic handling of Exempla and Miracles as found in mediaeval literature. The first line of the poem is obviously imitated from some such opening as ‘A londres en angleterre’ or its Latin equivalent or its imitation in English. Similarly the idea in l. 43 of the judge not being biased against the slayer of his father may well have been suggested by the exemplum of charity (not justice) set forth in the widely diffused story of the knight who forgave the slayer of his father, found so often in the Northern Homily Collection. See Carleton Brown, *Register of Middle English Religious Verse*, vol. ii, p. 152, to which references add MS. Bodl. 3440.

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In her article on 'Erkenbald the Belgian', Miss Hibbard deals with the Belgian story of 'Brussels' Brutus', Erkenbaldus de Burban, who was such a lover of justice that he killed his own nephew because of the youth's wickedness towards a maiden. He concealed this action from his confessor. The confessor, his bishop, knew what he had done, and refused to give him the last sacrament.

Nevertheless Erkenbald, pleading that what he had done was in righteousness and dread of God, and not in sin, declared that he betook both body and soul to the holy sacrament, that is, to God Himself; and by a miracle, Almighty God Himself gave him what the bishop had denied.

The name of the hero of this story, as first given in the 'Dialogus Miraculorum' of Caesarius of Heisterbach, c. 1220, is Erkenbaldus de Burban, and the name clearly links the story with the early history of the family of the Bourbons, which took its name from Bourbon l'Archambault (*i.e.* Erkenbald), a town of an important lordship in the tenth century, Erkenbald being a common name of these Bourbon princes in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In the manuscripts in which the miracle is related, Bourbon suffers many corruptions.

I cannot agree with Miss Hibbard when she maintains that there was a wide diffusion on the continent of the legend of St. Erkenwald, and that this fact 'may, perhaps, account for a surprising shift of names that took place even in the Belgian homeland of the Erkenbald legend', *i.e.* she holds that on the continent the name Erkenbald of the Bourbon chief had been transferred to the bishop of the story, and had still further been changed, under the influence of the stories of St. Erkenwald into Erkenwald. If this were so, the fact might well have an important bearing on the genesis of the present poem; but unfortunately the evidence adduced by Miss Hibbard tells the other way. She quotes from the *Alphabetum Narrationum*,

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a collection of tales, probably by Arnold of Liège, c. 1308, where following a Trajan story of justice there is a story of a judge 'named Bormar, who killed his nephew for just cause, and sent for Bishop Erkenwaldus to give him absolution. The whole story, including the final miracle of the Host, is identical in detail with that told by Caesarius, but it is said to be drawn from an account by Bishop Erkenwaldus himself.' Miss Hibbard has found this version of the story in the fifteenth-century English translation of the *Alphabetum Narrationum* entitled *An Alphabet of Tales*,¹ and has assumed, although a glance at the foot-note would have saved her from the blunder, that the English translation is an accurate rendering of the Latin. It is the English fifteenth-century translator who misunderstood the original 'Herkyndaldus de Bornayre, vir nobilis', and translated it 'Herkenwaldus tellis of ane þat hight Bormar, þat was a noble man'. A similar mistranslation later on makes 'Herbinbaldus' the bishop's name.² Accordingly, interesting as it may be to know of the legend of Erkenbald the Belgian, so often, by a striking coincidence, brought into connexion as illustrating justice, with the *exemplum* of Trajan, no evidence has been adduced tending to demonstrate that the miracle of Erkenbald influenced the attribution to St. Erkenwald of the version of the Trajan-story localized at St. Paul's. All the same, as Miss Hibbard has well brought out, the well-nigh identical forms of the two names, and the treatment of the Trajan and Erkenbald stories as *exempla* of justice, should not be lost sight of.³

¹ Ed. Mrs. M. M. Banks, Early English Text Society, 127, pp. 287-9.

² 'Episcopus uocatus cum sacris aduenit. Herbinbaldus, cum multis lacrimis et cordis contricione, omnia peccata sua confessus est', becomes '& þan he sent for þe bissishop Herkenwaldus, and he come with þe sacrament & shrafe hym, & howseld hym not, & he made grete sorow & had grete contricion in his harte for his syn.'

³ There is no doubt that in England Erkinbald the Bourbon became

The Poem Contrasted with the Treatment of Trajan in 'Piers Plowman'. From what has been said above, our poem may well be described as a mediaeval *exemplum* of justice. The central figure is not the saintly bishop, but the pagan judge, who, never swerving from justice, was at his death honoured as 'king of keen justices', and was destined, by grace, through baptism, to receive merit for his just dooms, and by a divine miracle, to pass from 'the deep lake' to the solemn feast 'where those are refreshed who have hungered after right'.¹ It is as if our poet were anxious to enforce the lesson of justice at a time when Meed, self-interest, or bias, too often tampered with Right. At the same time, his attitude towards baptism as essential for salvation is conservative and orthodox. From many points of view it is of interest to compare the present poem with the references to Trajan in the *Vision of Piers Plowman*. In the B and C versions of the *Vision of Piers Plowman*, in Passus III of 'Dowel', we have Troianus, *i. e.* Trajan, the true knight, telling his story :

‘How he was ded and damped to dwellen in pyne,
For an vneristene creature,—“clerkis wyten the sothe,
That al the clergye vnder Cryste ne miȝte me cracche fro
helle,
But onliche loue and leaute and my lawful domes ”.
(B. xi. 137–40.)

The writer of the B version, as well as the reviser who was

Erkenwald. Thus Henry VIII had among his tapestries in the Tower, as Miss Hibbard points out, ‘i pece of riche arras of king Erkinwalde’. The name, by the way, puzzled the editor of Warton’s *History of English Poetry* (cp. vol. ii, p. 192, of the edition of 1871), who implies that ‘king’ ought to have been ‘bishop’. The tapestry was no doubt a reproduction of Van der Weyden’s picture at Brussels, which immediately followed that of Trajan.

¹ Cp. *Patience* 19–20 :

‘pay ar happen also þat hungeres after ryȝt,
For þay schal frely be refete ful of alle gode.’

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responsible for the C version, whether the same or a different author, evidently knew the Trajan¹ story as current in England in its simple form of Gregory's successful intercession by prayer² for the pagan emperor. The B version refers directly to 'the Legende Sanctorum' as a source. The author was evidently familiar with the theological discussions on the subject, which he dismisses with an exclamation placed on the lips of Trajan, 'jee! baw for bokes', and with characteristic boldness declares that Trajan, that Saracen, was saved, not through prayer of a Pope, but through his pure truth (B. xi. 150; *cp.* C. xiii. 74-99). The reviser of C evidently shrinks from so audacious a statement. A comparison of the two versions is full of interest; the subtle changes in C are noteworthy.³

In B. xii, and the corresponding passage in C. xv, the subject is again discussed, where Imaginative instructs the dreamer on the problem of whether baptism could be dispensed with for salvation, and points out that,

'Trajan was a true knight, and took never Christendom,
And he is saved, saith the book, and his soul in heaven.
There is baptism of font, and baptism in blood-shedding,
And through fire is baptism, and all is firm belief.'

*Advenit ignis divinus, non comburens sed illuminans.*⁴

¹ It is noteworthy that the *Vision of Piers Plowman*, as so many Middle English writings, gives the form as 'Trojanus', though the author of C has both 'Troianus' and 'Traianus'.

² The legend in Middle English is frequently found in MSS. of the *Northern Homilies* (see Carleton Brown, *Register of Middle English Religious Verse*, vol. ii, p. 42). It is often referred to by Gower, and in Wintoun's Chronicle is given at great length (vol. iii, pp. 286-96, ed. Amours, Scottish Text Society). For versions of the story in MSS. of mediaeval exempla, see *Catalogue of Romances in the Dept. of MSS., British Museum*, vol. iii, J. A. Herbert.

³ See Appendix, p. 56.

⁴ *Piers Plowman*, C. xv. 205-8; *cp.* Matt. iii. 11.

In B. x. 383, and the corresponding passage in C. xii, the belief that

Probable Date, Occasion, and Authorship. But while the poet's efforts have been directed mainly to the pagan judge as an exemplar of justice, it is in honour of St. Erkenwald that the poem must have been composed. The poet's obvious intention is clearly to associate himself with the cult of St. Erkenwald at St. Paul's Cathedral. The outstanding date in connexion with the observance of the feast-days of the saint is the year 1386, to which allusion has already been made.

There is no evidence of date to be derived from the poem itself. Its tone tends to confirm the view that it was composed for some special occasion. Such external evidence as one can suggest would make such a date as 1386 most probable.

The poem in its plan, its vocabulary,¹ its general style and method, and its quatrain arrangement, recalls *Cleanness* and *Patience*. The enumeration of the christianized heathen temples seems a reminiscence of the gods prayed to by the heathen sailors in *Patience*,² the ceremonial with which the soul of the judge is received at the heavenly feast is the same as that observed at the marriage feast in *Cleanness*.³

Solomon and Aristotle were both in hell is contested, and it is noteworthy that in the passage concerning Trajan one MS. interpolates some lines concerning Job, the paynim, and Aristotle being both saved, because of their holy life.

¹ E.g. its use of such a word as 'norne', which occurs three times in *Cleanness* and four times in *Gawain*, and is not found elsewhere. The suggestion that the author is to be identified with the writer of the alliterative fragment on Thomas à Becket (E.E.T.S. 42) has absolutely nothing to commend it.

² Cf. l. 20 with *Patience* 167, To Mahoun & to Mergot, þe Mone & þe Sunne.

³ Cf. ll. 337-8 with *Cleanness* 91-2 :

Ful manerly wþth marchal mad for to sitte,
As he watȝ dere of de-gre dressed his seete.

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Occasionally we are reminded, too, of some possible knowledge of *Pearl* on the part of the author, and this not only by the mention of ‘many a precious pearl’ around the hem of the judge’s robe, which might well have symbolic connotations, but also by more subtle points of contact. The central theme of *Pearl* is the regality—the heavenly crown—granted by grace, after baptism, to an innocent child. It is further enunciated in *Pearl* that, according to Holy Writ, the righteous man shall ‘climb the lofty hill and rest within the holy place’. In the present poem the problem of the salvation of the righteous seems to take up the question as left in *Pearl*. Our poet, treating the story of the pagan righteous judge who was allowed to await baptism, evidently emphasizes his view that the righteous in works are received into the Kingdom, and have their due place at the feast, after the waters of baptism have fallen upon them.

In my introductory study to *Cleanness*, I have endeavoured to show that the *terminus a quo* for the date of that poem must be 1373, and I think we may safely assume that the present poem is not earlier than the companion poems, *Cleanness* and *Patience*. Its diction is simpler than that of those poems, it lacks their strength and intensity; but this sign of weakness might be due to its being composed for some special occasion, and not a theme chosen by the poet and slowly elaborated. If not the work of the poet of *Patience* and *Cleanness*, *Erkenwald* must be due to some disciple who very cleverly caught the style of his master.

Even in his method of authenticating, as it were, his work by adducing some extant authority—‘as yet in crafty chronicles is recorded the memory’¹—even in that he reminds one of the poet of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, who

¹ l. 44.

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asserts that he is about to tell his romance as he had heard it :

‘As it is set full real
In story stiff and strong,
Locked in letters leal,
In land so has been long.’¹

‘Erkenwald’ specifically a London Poem. There is one aspect of this alliterative poem of *Erkenwald* that gives it almost a special interest, namely, that its place of origin must have been the city of London. The writer of the poem was no mere casual visitor to London, but one who, identified with the interests of the city, was cognizant of its life, and took pride in its history and the visible monuments of its greatness. In dealing with his far-off theme of the Saxon saint and the pagan judge who ‘justified’ the town in the days of King Belinus, the poet is thinking of the St. Paul’s of his own day, not only with reference to the glorious shrine of the saint, and to the efforts to establish the due observance of his feast-days, but also to the position of the Cathedral as the centre of civic and almost of national life, the scene of so many stirring episodes, the cathedral church of the metropolis, famed for the grandeur and beauty of its service, to which he alludes when stating that ‘many gay lords were assembled there when, in full pontificals, with choir accompaniment, the bishop sang the High Mass’. He then adds most significantly as a parenthesis, ‘even as the nobles of the realm repair thither oft’.²

Yet the alliterative metre of the poem, and the dialect in which it is written, could not well have been chosen by a poet London-born and London-bred. A Londoner could not, or

¹ *Garwain*, ll. 33–6.

² ll. 129–35. In Canon Benham’s *Old St. Paul’s*, 1902, there are interesting reproductions from MSS. of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in the British Museum, of a Pontifical Mass, and of organ and trumpets.

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would not, ‘rim-ram-ruff’. It may be assumed that the author of *Erkenwald* belonged by birth to some district in the ‘West’, although fortune ultimately made him a denizen of London. It is indeed noteworthy that London seems to have had a stimulating effect on some of the most characteristic of the alliterative poets of the period. In perhaps the earliest of these poems, the social political alliterative pamphlet of *Winner and Waster*, belonging to the year 1352, the author of which is avowedly a ‘Western man’, we have a personal knowledge of London life, its social amenities, extravagances, attractions, and dangers. The author or authors of the *Vision of Piers Plowman* knew London intimately; not only are there references to St. Paul’s and Westminster, but the meaner side of London life is revealed in the confession of Gluttony, Clarice of Cock Lane, Godfrey of Garlickhithe, and the other characters typical of the London low life of the time. We learn by combining the two references C. vi. 1–2 and B. xviii. 426 (C. xxi. 473), how the author (alliteratively) dwelt in Cornhill with Kit, his wife, and Calote, his daughter, clothed as a Lollard, among the Lollards of London, and lived ‘in London and on London both’.¹ The more genial poet of *Erkenwald* must similarly have been settled in London for not a few years. His outlook had nothing of the gloomy denunciatory character of the prophet-poet of the *Vision*. If he lived on London as well as in London, it was in some comfortable position that made life easy, and one thinks of the possibilities of the Church and the Law. Had he found a chantry at St. Paul’s, or even some higher position there, a greater place would, in my opinion, have been given in *Erkenwald* to the bishop whose saintliness was commemorated therein. The poet, however, seems more bent on glorifying the judge as the embodiment of justice, and in paying a tribute to the ideal man of law. It

¹ C. vi. 44.

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is dangerous to theorize where there is no clear evidence, but if one had to choose between the two great professions of the time, one would perforce make choice of the legal calling as that of the author of our poem. One fondly plays with the fancy that Chaucer's 'philosophical Strode' may have been concerned. If my identification is correct, Strode, philosopher and poet, was Common Sergeant of the City of London. In 1386, shortly after the Common Sergeant had resigned or been ousted from his office, and while he was still retained as standing counsel for the city, he may have helped forward the efforts of Bishop Braybroke, who in that year made a strong endeavour to re-establish the feast-days of St. Erkenwald. The poem seems to me to be the work of a hand that was losing its cunning. It is such as the author of *Cleanness* and *Patience* might well have written when his powers were faltering. Ralph Strode, the Common Sergeant, died in 1387. He had held that office between 1375 and 1385. He had been Chaucer's neighbour for a time, living over the gate of Aldersgate, while Chaucer dwelt over Aldgate. The dedication of *Troilus* about 1382 to the 'moral Gower and the philosophical Strode' is evidently to two poets. We have Strode's logical and philosophical treatises to attest the truth of the epithet 'philosophical', but the author of these extant treatises would hardly have evoked from Chaucer such a dedication as is implied in the lines at the end of *Troilus*. Even as Chaucer himself was styled 'the philosophical', so we may assume that the epithet bestowed by him on Strode, with the request to correct any error that might be found in the poem, implied poetical achievement on the part of Strode, as was clearly the case in his dedicatory reference on the same occasion to his other great contemporary and friend, the 'moral Gower'.

The contemporary Letter Books of the City of London¹

Calendar of Letter Books of the City of London, Letter Book H. temp. Richard II,

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show how the fortunes of Ralph Strode, Common Sergeant, were closely bound up with the municipal struggles of Nicholas Brembre, his friend, and John of Northampton, the rival Mayors, whose tragic stories well exemplify the close connexion of the City of London at that time with the great political issues of the State. The vicissitudes of Northampton are in English literature associated with the ignominious Thomas Usk, author of the pseudo-Chaucerian prose work entitled *The Testament of Love*,¹ wherein the author is taught by Love how to win the favour of the Margaret Pearl—the pearl beyond all price. Traitor to his master, Northampton, he had joined the party of Brembre, who had become Mayor in 1383, having previously been Collector of Customs when Chaucer was Controller of Customs. But Brembre, as the devoted friend of King Richard, became involved in the political struggles affecting the monarch, and in 1388 both Brembre and Usk paid the penalty of death. Strode had died the previous year. But the stirring events that culminated with the cruel execution of his friend Brembre had been moving men's minds for years before, and it must have seemed to many that the course of justice was too often affected by political bias and personal aims. Amid such conditions arose this poem of the ideal pagan judge, who in far-off times, when London was New Troy, ruled the city 'under a noble duke'. To the minds of the poet and his contemporaries, however, New Troy and its noble duke were not really so remote as might appear, for it is significant that after the execution of Brembre, when his sentence had to be justified, it was alleged against him, among other charges, that he aimed at restoring

ed. R. Sharpe, 1907; see also *London and the Kingdom*, R. Sharpe, vol. i, 1894.

¹ Ed. Skeat, *Works of Chaucer*, vol. vii. On Brembre, Usk, and Northampton, see *Dict. Nat. Biog.* and bibliographies appended.

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to London the old name of Troy, and at creating himself Duke of that name—‘nomen novum scilicet Parvae Troiae, cuius urbis et nominis ipse Dux creari statuit et nominari’.¹

¹ *Historia Anglicana*, T. Walsingham, ed. H. T. Riley, 1864, vol. ii, p. 174.

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B X II

DE ERKENWALDO

[PROLOGUE.]

[F. 72 b] **A**t London in Englondne noȝt fulle longe [tyme]
Sythen Crist suffride on crosse, & Cristen-
dome stablyde,
Ther was a byschop in þat burghe, blesyed
& saeryd,—
Saynt Erkenwolde, as I hope, þat holy mon hatte.

- 5 In his tyme in þat ton þe temple alder-grattyst
Was drawen don þat one dole to dedifie new,
For hit hethen had bene in Hengyst dawes,
þat þe Saxones vnsaȝt haden sende hyder.
- 9 þai bete oute þe Bretons, & broȝt hom in-to Wales,
& peruertyd alle þe pepul þat in þat place dwellide;
Pen wos this reame renaide mony ronke ȝeres,
Til Saynt Austyn in-to Sandewiche was sende fro þe pope.
- 13 Pen prechyd he here þe pure faythe & plantyd þe trouthe,
& conuertyd alle þe communnates to Cristendame† newe;
He turnyd temples þat tyme þat temyd to þe deuelle,
& clansyd hom in Cristes nome, & kyrkes hom callid.
- 17 He hurlyd owt hor ydols & hade hym in sayntes,
& chaungit cheuely hor nomes, & chargit hom better:
þat ere was of Appolyn is now of Saynt Petre;
Mahon to Saynt Margrete, oþer to Maudelayne.

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- 21 *p^e Synagoge of p^e Sonne was sett to oure Lady ;
Jubiter & Jono to Jhesu oþer to James ;
So he hom dedifiet & dyght alle to dere halowes,
þat ere wos sett of Sathanas in Saxones tyme.*
- 25 Now þat London is neuenyd hatte p^e New Troie ;
p^e metropol & p^e mayster-ton hit euermore has bene ;
p^e mecul mynster þerinne a maghty deuel aghit,
& p^e title of p^e temple bitan was his name ;
- 29 For he was dryghtyn derrest of ydols praysid,
And p^e solempnest of his sacrifices in Saxon londes :
þe thrid temple hit wos tolde of Triapolitanes ;
By alle Bretaynes bonkes were bot othire twayne.

[I.]

- 33 **N**ow of þis Augustynes art is Erkenwolde bischop
At loue London ton, & the laghe teches ;
Syttes semely in p^e sege of Saynt Paule mynster,
þat was p^e temple Triapolitan, as I tolde are.
- 37 þen was hit abatyd & beten don, & buggyd efte new,
A noble note for p^e nones, & New Werke hit hatte ;
Mony a mery mason was made þer to wyrke,
Harde stones for to hewe with eggit toles ;
- 41 Mony grubber in grete p^e grounde for to seche,
þat p^e fundement on fyrst shuld p^e fote halde ;
& as þai m[u]kkyde & mynyde, a meruayle þai founden,
As ȝet in crafty cronecles is kydde p^e memorie.

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- 45 For as þai dyȝt & dalfē so depe in-to þe erthe,
 þai fouȝden fourmyt on a flore a ferly faire toumbe ;
 Hit was a throghe of thykke ston, thryuandly hewen,
 With gargeles garnysht a-boute, alle of gray marbre.
- 49 Theþ spe[k]e of þe spelunke þat spradde hit o-lofte
 Was metely made of þe marbre & menskefully planede,
 & þe bordure enbelicit with bryȝt golde lettres ;
 Bot roynyshe were þe resones þat þer on row stoden.
- 53 Fulle verray were þe vigures, þer auisyde hom mony,
 Bot alle muset hit to mouthe & quat hit mene shulde ;
 [F. 73] Mony clerke in þat clos, with crownes ful brode,
 þer besiet hom a-boute noȝt, to brynge hom in wordes.
- 57 Quen tithynges token to þe ton of þe toumbe-wonder,
 Mony hundrid hende men highide þider sone ;
 Burgeys boghit þer-to, bedels ande othire,
 & mony a mesters-mon of maners dyuerse.
- 61 Laddes laften hor werke & lepen þiderwardes,
 Ronnen radly in route with ryngande noyee ;
 þer commen þider of alle kynnes so kenely mony,
 þat as alle þe worlde were þider walon with-in a honde-
 quile.
- 65 Quen þe maire with his meynye þat meruaile aspied,
 By assent of þe sextene, þe sayntuare þai kepten ;
 Bede vn louke þe lidde, & lay hit by-side ;
 þai wolde loke on þat lome quat lengyd withinne.
- 69 Wyȝt werke-men with þat wenten þer-tille ;
 Putten prises þerto, pinchid one-vnder ;
 Kaghten by þe corners with crowes of yrne ;
 And were þe lydde neuer so large, þai laide hit by sone.

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- 73 Bot þen wos wonder to wale on wehes þat stoden,
 That myȝt not come to to-knowe a quontyse strange ;
 So was þe glode with-in gay, al with golde payntyde,
 & a blisfulle body opon þe both[um] lyggid,—
- 77 Araide on a riche wise, in rialle wedes,
 Al with glisnande golde his gowne wos hemmyd,
 With mony a precious perle picchit þer-on,
 & a gurdille of golde bigripide his mydelle ;
- 81 A meche mantel on-lofte with menyuer furrit,
 þe clothe of camelyn ful clene, with cumly bordures ;
 & on his coyfe wos kest a coron ful riche,
 & a semely septure sett in his honde.
- 85 Als wemles were his wedes, with-outen any tecche,
 Oþer of moulynge, oþer of motes, oþir moght-freten,
 & als bryȝt of hor blee, in blysnande hewes,
 As þai hade ȝepely in þat ȝorde bene ȝisturday shapen ;
- 89 & als freshe hym þe face & the fleshe nakyde,
 Bi his eres & bi his hondes þat openly shewid,
 With ronke rode as þe rose, & two rede lippes,
 As he in sounde sodanly were slippide opon slepe.
- 93 Þer was spedeles space to spyr vschon oþer
 Quat body hit myȝt be þat buried wos ther ;
 How longe had he þer layne, his lere so vnchaungit,
 & al his wede vnwemmyd,—þus ylka weghe askyd :
- 97 ‘ Hit myȝt not be bot suche a mon in my[n]de stode longe ;
 He has ben kynge of þis kithe, as couthely hit semes,
 He lyes doluen þus depe ; hit is a derfe wonder
 Bot summe segge couthe say þat he hym sene hade.’

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101 Bot þat ilke note wos noght, for nounre none couthe,
Noþer by title, ne token, ne by tale noþer,
þat wos breuyt in b[rut], ne in bok[e] notyde,
þat euer mynnyd suche a mo[n], more ne lasse.

105 þe bode-worde to þe byschop was broght on a quile,
Of þat buriede body al þe bolde wonder;
þe primate with his prelacie was partyd fro home;
In Esex was Ser Erkenwolde, an abbay to visite.

109 Tulkes tolden hym þe tale [& þe] troubulle in þe pepul,
And suche a cry aboute a cors erakit euer-more;

3b] The bischop sende hit to blynne, by bedels & lettres,
Ande buskyd þiderwarde by-tyme on his blonke after.

113 By þat he come to þe kyrke, kyddle of Saynt Paule,
Mony hym metten on þat meere, þe meruayle to telle;
He passyd in-to his palais & pes he comaundit,
& deuoydit fro þe d[outh]e, & ditte þe durre after.

117 þe derke nyȝt ouer-drofe, & day-belle ronge;
And Ser Erkenwolde was vp in þe vghten ere þen,
þat wel neghe al þe nyȝt hade na[i]tyd his houres,
To biseche his souerayn, of his swete grace,

121 To vouche-safe to reuele hym hit, by a-vis[i]on or elles;

‘þaghe I be vnworthi’, al wepande he sayde,
‘Thurgh [þi] deere debonerte, digne hit, my Lorde,
In confirmynge þi cristen faithe, fulsen me to kenne
125 þe mysterie of þis meruaile þat men opon wondres.’

& so longe he grette after grace, þat he graunte hade,
An ansuare of þe Holy Goste, & after-warde hit dawid.
Mynster-dores were makyd opon, quen matens were

songen;

129 þe byschop hym shope solemnly to synge þe beghe masse.

SAINT ERKENWALD

þe prelate in pontificals was prestly atyride ;
 Manerly with his ministres þe masse he begynnes
 Of Spiritus Domini for his spede, on sutile wise,
 133 With queme questis of þe quere, with ful quaynt notes.

Mony a gay grete lorde was gedrid to herken hit
 (As þe rekenest of þe reame repairen þider ofte),
 Tille cessyd was þe seruice, & sayde þe later ende,
 137 þen heldyt fro þe autere alle þe heghe gynge.

þe prelate passide on þe playn, þer plied to hym lordes ;
 As riche reuestid as he was, he rayked to þe toumbe ;
 Men vnclosid hym þe cloyster with clustrede keies ;
 141 Bot pyne wos with þe grete prece þat passyd hym after.

The byschop come to þe burynes, him barones besyde ;
 þe maire with mony maȝti men, & macers before hym ;
 þe dene of þe dere place deuysit al on fyrst,
 145 þe fyndynge of þat ferly with fynger he mynte.

Lo, lordes,' quoþ þat lede, 'suche a lyche here is,
 Has layn loken here on-loghe, how longe is vnknawen ;
 & ȝet his colour & his clothe has eaȝt no defaute,
 149 Ne his lire, ne þe lome þat he is layde inne.

þer is no lede opon lyfe of so longe age
 þat may mene in his mynde þat suche a mon regnyd,
 Ne noþer his nome ne his note nourne of one speche ;
 153 Queþer mony porer in þis place is putte into graue,
 þat merkid is in oure martilage his mynde for euer.

& we haue oure librarie la[i]tid þes longe seuen dayes,
 Bot one cronicle of þis kynge con we neuer fynde ;
 157 He has non layne here so longe, to loke hit by kynde,
 To malte so out of memorie, bot meruayle hit were.'

SAINT ERKENWALD

'þou says soþe,' quoþ þe segge þat sacrid was byschop,

'Hit is meruaile to men, þat mouutes to litelle

- 161 Towarde þe prouidens of þe Prince þat Paradis weldes,
Quen hym luste to vn louke þe leste of his myȝtes.

Bot quen matyd is monnes myȝt, & his mynde passyde,

And al his reson are to-rent, & redeles he stondes,

- 165 þen lettes hit hym ful litelle to louse wyt a fynger
þat alle þe hondes vnder heuen halde myȝt neufer.

Pere-as creatures crafte of counselle oute swarues,

[F. 74] þe comforthe of þe creatore byhoues þe c[reat]ure take.

- 169 & so do we now oure dede, deuyne we no fyrre;
To seche þe sothe at oure-selfe, ȝee se þer no bote;
Bot gl[e]w we alle opon Godde, & his grace aske,
þat careles is of counselle, [vs] comforthe to sende.

- 173 [Anande] þat in fastynge of ȝour faithe & of fyne bileue,
I shal auay ȝow so verrayly of vertues his,
þat ȝe may leue vpon longe þat he is lord myȝty,
& fayne ȝour talent to fulfille, if ȝe hym frende leues.'

- 177 Then he turnes to þe toumbe & talkes to þe corce ;
Tuftande vp his eghe-lyddes, he loused suche wordes :
 ‘Now, lykhame, þat þ[us] lies, layne þou no lenger,
 Sythen Jhesus has iuggit to-day his ioy to be schewyde !
- 181 Be þou bone to his bode, I bydde in his behalue ;
 As he was bende on a beme, quen he his blode schedde,
 As þou hit wost wyterly, & we hit wele leuen,
 Ansuarre here to my sawe, councele no trouthe !
- 185 Sithen we wot not qwo þou art, witere vs þi-selwen,
 In worlde quat weghe þou was, & quy þow þus ligges,
 How longe þou has layne here, & quat laghe þou vsyt,
 Queþer art þou ioyned to ioy oþer iuggid to pyne.’
- 189 Quen þe segge hade þus sayde, & syked þer-after,
 þe bryȝt body in þe burynes bray[þ]ed a litelle,
 & with a drery dreme he dryues owte wordes —
 purghe s[um] lyf[ly] goste, lant† of hym þat al redes :—
- 193 ‘Bisshop,’ quoþ þis ilke body, ‘þi boode is me dere,
 I may not bot boghe to þi bone for bothe myn eghen ;
 þe name þat þou neuenyd has & nournet me after
 Al heuen & helle heldes to, & erthe bitwene.
- 197 Fyrst to say the þe sothe quo my selfe were,—
 One þe vnhapnest hathel þat euer on erthe ȝode,
 Neuer kynge ne cayser ne ȝet no knyȝt nothyre,
 Bot a lede of þe laghe þat þen þis londe vsit.
- 201 I was committid & made a mayster-mon here,
 To sytte vpon sayd causes þis cite I ȝemyd,
 Vnder a prince of parage of paynymes laghe,
 & vche segge þat him sewide þe same faythe trowid.

SAINT ERKENWALD

- 205 þe lengthe of my lyinge here, þat is a l[app]id date
 Hit to m[ut]he to any mon to make of a nombre:
 After þat Brutus þis burghē had buggid on fyrste
 Noȝt bot [aght] hundred ȝere þer aughtene wontyd—
- 209 Before þat kynned ȝour Cristen acounte
 [þre hundred] ȝere & þritty mo & ȝet threnen agh,
 I was [o]n eiref of an oye[r] in þe New Troie
 In þe regne of þe riche kynge þat rewlit vs þen,
- 213 The bolde Breton Ser Belyn,—Ser Berynge was his
 brothire—
 Mony one was þe busmare boden hom bitwene
 For hor wrakeful werre, quil hor wrathe lastyd,—
 þen was I iuge here enioynyd in gentil lawe.'
- 217 Quil he in spelunke þus spake þer sprange in þe pepulle
 In al þis worlde no worde, ne wakenyd no noice,
 Bot al as stille as þe ston stoden & listonde,
 With meche wonder forwrast, & wepid ful mony.
- 221 The bisshop biddes þat body, ‘biknowe þe cause,
 Sithen þou was kidde for no kynge, quy þou þe cron weres.
 Quy haldes þou so heghe in honde þe septre,
 & hades no londe of lege men, ne life ne lym aghthes?’
- [F. 74b] 225 ‘Dere ser,’ quoþ þe dede body, ‘deuyse þe I thenke,
 Al was hit neuer my wille þat wroght þus hit were;
 I wos deputate & domesmon vnder a duke noble,
 & in my power þis place was putte al to-geder.
- 229 I iustifiet þis ioly toun on gentil wise,
 & euer in fourme of gode faithe, more þen fourty wynter.
 þe folke was felonse & fals, & frowarde to reule;
 I hent harmes ful ofte, to holde hom to riȝt.

SAINT ERKENWALD

- 233 Bot for wothe ne wele ne wrathe ne drede,
 Ne for maystrie ne for mede ne for no monnes aghe,
 I remewit neuer fro þ^e riȝt, by reson myn awen,
 For to dresse a wrange dome, no day of my lyue.
- 237 Declynet neuer my consciens, for couetise on erthe,
 In no gynful iugement no iapes to make,
 Were a renke neuer so riche, for reuerens sake,
 Ne for no monnes manas, ne meschefe ne routhe.
- 241 Non gete me fro þ^e heghe gate to glent out of ryȝt,
 Als ferforthe as my faithe confourmyd my hert ;
 þaghe had bene my fader bone, I bede hym no wranges,
 Ne fals fauour to my fader, þaghe felle hym be hongyt.
- 245 & for I was ryȝtwis & reken, & redy of þ^e laghe,
 Quen I deghed, for dul denyed alle Troye ;
 Alle menyd my dethe, þ^e more & the lasse ;
 & þus to bounti my body þai buriet in golde,—
- 249 Cladden me for þ^e curtest þat courte couthe þen holde,
 In mantel for þ^e mekest & monlokest on benche ;
 Gurden me forþ gouern[ance þ^e] graythist of Troie,
 Furrid me for þ^e fynest of faithe [þer] withinne.
- 253 For þ^e honour of myn honeste of heghest enprise,
 þai coronyd me þ^e kidde kynge of kene iustises,
 þ[at] euer was tronyd in Troye oþer trowid euer shulde ;
 And for I rewardid euer riȝt, þai raght me the septre.'
- 257 þ^e bisshop baythes hym ȝet, with bale at his hert,
 þaghe men menskid him so, how hit myȝt worthe
 þat his clothes were so clene ; ‘in cloutes, me thynkes,
 Hom burde haue rotid & bene rent in rattes longe sythen.

SAINT ERKENWALD

- 261 þⁱ body may be enbawmyd, hit bashis me noght
 þat hit thar ryne ne rote ne no ronke wormes;
 Bot þⁱ coloure ne þⁱ clothe, I know *in* no wise
 How hit myȝt lye by monnes lore & last so longe.'
- 265 'Nay, bisshop,' quoþ þat body, 'enbawmyd wos I neuer,
 Ne no monnes counselle my clothe has kepyd vnwemmyd;
 Bot þ^e riche kynge of reson, þat riȝt euer allowes,
 & loues al þ^e lawes lely þat longen to trouthe;
- 269 & moste he menskes men for mynnyngē of riȝtes,
 þen for al þ^e meritorie medes þat men on molde vsen;
 & if renkes for riȝt þus me arayed has,
 He has lant me to last þat loues ryȝt best.'
- 273 'Zea, bot sayȝ þou of þⁱ saule,' þen sayd þ^e bisshop.
 'Quere is ho stablid & stadde, if þou so streȝt wroghtes?
 He þat rewardes vche a renke as he has riȝt seruyd
 Myȝt euel for-go the to gyfe of his grace summe brawnche.
- 277 For as he says *in* his sothe psalmyde writtes:
 "þ^e skilfulle & þ^e vnskathely skelton ay to me."
 For-þi say me of þⁱ soule, in sele quere ho wonnes,
 And of þ^e riche restorment þat raȝt hyr oure Lorde!'
- 281 þen hummyd he þat þer lay, & his hedde waggyd,
 & gefe a gronynge ful grete, & to Godde sayde:—
 'Maȝty maker of men, thi myghtes are grete,
 How myȝt þⁱ mercy to me amounte any tyme?
- [F. 75] 285 Nas I a paynym vnpreste, þat neuer thi plite knewe,
 Ne þ[^e] mesure of þⁱ mercy, ne þⁱ mecul vertue,
 Bot ay a freke faitheles þat faylid þⁱ laghes,
 þat euer þou, Lord, wos louyd *in*? Allas, þ^e harde stoundes!

SAINT ERKENWALD

- 289 I was non of þ^e nombre þat þou with noy boghtes
 With þ^e blode of thi body vpon þ^e blo rode;
 Quen þou herghedes helle-hole, & hentes hom þer-oute,
 þ[^e] loffynge, oute of Limbo, þou laftes [m]e þer.
- 293 & þer sittes my soule þat se may n[o] fyrre,
 Dwynande in þe derke dethe, þat dyȝt vs oure fader,
 Adam, oure alder, þat ete of þat appulle
 þat mony a plyȝtles pepul has poysned for euer.
- 297 ȝe were entouchid with his te[c]he & t[o]ke in þ^e gl[e]tte,
 Bot mendyl with a medecyn, ȝe are made for to lyuye,—
 þat is fulloght in fonte, with faithful bileue;
 & þat han we myste alle merciles, myselfe & my soule.
- 301 Quat wan we with oure wele-dede þat wroghtyn ay riȝt,
 Quen we are dampnyd dulfully into þe depe lake,
 & exiled fro þat soper so, þat solempne fest,
 þer richely hit arne refetyd þat after right hungride?
- 305 My soule may sitte þer in sorow, & sike ful colde,
 Dy[m]ly in þat derke dethe, þer dawes neuer morowen,
 Hungrie in-with helle-hole, & herken after meeles,
 Longe er ho þat soper se, oþer segge hyr to lathe.'
- 309 þus dulfully þis dede body deuisyt hit sorowe,
 þat alle wepyd for woo, þ^e wordes þat herden;
 & þ^e bysshop balefully bere don his eghen,
 þat hade no space to speke, so spakly he ȝoskyd,
- 313 Til he toke hym a tome, & to þ^e toumbe lokyd,
 To þ^e liche þer hit lay, with lauande teres:
 'Oure Lord lene,' quoþ þat lede, 'þat þou lyfe hades,
 By Goddes leue, as longe as I myȝt lacche water,

SAINT ERKENWALD

- 317 & cast vpon þi faire cors, & carpe þes wordes,—
 “I folwe þe in þe Fader nome & his fre Childe
 & of þe gracious Holy Goste”;—& not one grue lenger.
 þen þou droppyd douȝ dede, hit daungerde me lasse.’
- 321 With þat worde þat he warpyd, [of his] weteȝ eghen
 [þe] teres trillyd adon, & on þe toumbe lighten;
 & one felle on his face, & þe freke syked;
 þen sayd he with a sadde souȝ, ‘Oure Sauyoure be louyd !
- 325 Now herid be þou, heghe God, & þi hende Moder,
 & blissid be þat blisful hourē þat ho the bere in !
 & also be þou, bysshōp, þe bote of my sorowe,
 & þe relefe of þe lodely lures þat my soule has leuyd in !
- 329 For þe wordes þat þou werpe, & þe water þat þou sheddes,
 þe bryȝt bourne of þin eghen, my bapteme is worthyn ;
 þe fyrist silent þat on me slode slekkyd al my tene ;
 Ryȝt now to soper my soule is sette at þe table.
- 333 For with þe wordes & þe water þat weshe vs of Payne
 Liȝtly lasshit þer a leme loghet in þe abyme,
 þat spakly sprengt my sprit with vnsparid murthe
 Into þe cenacle solempli þer soupen alle trew;
- 337 & þer a marcialle hyr mette with menske alder-grattest,
 & with reuerence a rowme he raȝt hyr for euer.
 I heere þerof my heghe God, & also þe, bysshōp,
 Fro bale has broȝt vs to blis, blessid þou worthe !’
- [F. 75 b] 341 Wyt this cessyd his sowne, sayd he no more ;
 Bot sodenly his swete chere swyndid & faylide,
 And alle the blee of his body wos blakke as þe moldes,
 As roten as þe rottok þat rises in powdere.

SAINT ERKENWALD

- 345 For as sone as þe soule was sesyd in blisse,
Corrupt was þat oþer crafte þat couert þe bones;
For þe ay-lastande life, þat lethe shalle neuer,
Deuoydes vche a vayne glorie, þat vayles so litelle.
- 349 þen wos louyngे oure Lorde with loves vp-halden;
Meche mournynge & myrthe was mellyd to-geder;
þai passyd forthe in procession, & alle þe pepulle folowid,
And alle þe belles in þe burghe beryd at ones.

**NOTES
TEXTUAL AND EXPLANATORY
AND GLOSSARY**

I. TEXTUAL NOTES

(A) EMENDATIONS AND NOTES ON MS.

MS.

Emendation in Text.

1	At: <i>rubricated initial</i>	
	sythen	[tyme]
13	þen: <i>the e added above the line</i>	
14	cristenderame	cristendame
43	makkylde	m[u]kkyde
45	to <i>added above the line</i>	
49	thre sperle	the spe[k]e
	sperle: <i>this is the only occasion on which single l is crossed, as if it were final ll</i>	
67	vnlouke: u <i>added above the line; cp. 162, and loke, 68</i>	
72	lydde <i>blotted and written in the same hand in the margin</i>	
76	bothin: <i>the last letter has a curl, as if for final n, whereas the abbreviation is denoted by a horizontal line</i>	both[um]
82	clene: MS. glene, <i>with g crossed out and c written above</i>	
85	tecche; <i>the top of the first c has failed</i>	
97	myde	my[n]de
103	þat euer wos, burghe, boko	þat wos, b[rut], bok[e]
104	more	mo[n]
109	with	[& þə]
116	dede	d[outh]e
119	nattid	na[i]tid
121	a vison	a-vis[i]on
123	his	[þi]
130	pontificals: fi <i>added above the line</i>	
155	lattid	la[i]tid
161	p <i>crossed out before þat</i>	
162	vnlouke: u <i>added above the line</i>	
168	cure	c[reat]ure

SAINT ERKENWALD

<i>MS.</i>		<i>Emendation in Text.</i>
171	glow	gl[e]w
172	&	[vs]
173	&	[anande]
177	Then: <i>rubricated initial</i>	
179	þou	þ[us]
	no altered from ne	
181	bode: MS. bone, <i>with d crossed out and n written above</i>	
186	þow written above the line in a different hand	
190	brayed	bray[þ]ed
192	sn lant goste lyfe; cp. 76	s[um] lyf[ly] geste lant
193	þis written above the line	
195	To þe	þe
205	lewid	l[app]id
206	meche	m[ut]he
	nōmbrē; cp. 289	
208	bot: b has been altered from f	
	fife	[aght]
210	A þousande	[þre hundred]
211	an heire of anoye	[o]n eire of an oye[r]
251	for þe gouernour &	for gouern[ance] þe
252	me	[þer]
255	þer	þ[at]
262	rote: MS. route, <i>with u crossed out</i>	
273	sayes	say
286	þ ^l	þ[el]
289	nōmbrē	
292	þ ^l , ne	þ[el], [m]e
293	ne; e is very smudged, but it is not o	n[o]
295	Adam: the second a is written above the m	
297	tethē, take, glotte	te[c]he, t[o]ke, gl[e]tte
302	depe: the d is covered by a blot	
306	dynly	dy[m]ly
321	þe wete of	[of his] wete
322	&	[þe]
334	loghee	loghe

NOTES

(B) SUGGESTED METRICAL EMENDATIONS

<i>MS.</i>	<i>Suggested Original.</i>
6 new	new[e]
27 aghṭ	aghṭ[e]
29 ydols	yдол[e]s
30 Saxon	Saxon[e]
37 new	new[e]
40 eggit	eggit[e]
79 þer-on	
94 ther	
118 pen	þen[ne]
144 fyrist	fyrst[e]
174 his	his[e]
210 aghṭ	aghṭ[e]
212 þen	þen[ne]
216 gentil	
229 gentil	
232 riȝt	riȝt[e]
241 ryȝt	ryȝt[e]
242 hert	hert[e]
257 hert	hert[e]
261 noght	
264 last	last[e]
271 has	
272 best	best[e]
273 sayd	sayd[e]
292 þer	
301 riȝt	
326 in	in[ne]
328 in	in[ne]
336 trew	trew[e]
340 worth	worth[e]

II. EXPLANATORY NOTES

1. [tyme]: MS. sythen.
14. **communnates**, commonalties, bodies corporate, communities, 'communia'; see Preface, p. xxix.
- Cristendame: MS. *cristenderame*.
17. & hade hym in sayntes: *i.e.* and got in saints for himself.
18. cheuely: primarily, as a chief preliminary.
- & chargit hom better: and gave them a better function to discharge.
21. þe Synagoge of þe Sonne: see Preface, p. xvi.
23. dedifiet: dedicated.
- (?) omit 'hom'.
24. (?) emend to 'sete', *i.e.* seat, see.
28. title in dative; 'and his name was given to the title of the temple', *i.e.* bestowed as designation.
30. (?) Saxone.
31. **Triapolitanes**: see Preface, p. xxiii.
33. of þis Augustynes art: of the Roman discipline, not the British.
34. loue: (?) l[e]jue. It is of interest that the phrase 'leve London' is quoted in *EDD*. from Richardson's *Borderer's Table-book*, 1846. Perhaps the correct reading was 'loued', *i.e.* praised, famed.
41. *Promptorium Parvulorum*, grubber in the erthe.
42. So that the foundation in the first place should hold the foot, *i.e.* be secure. I doubt the correctness of the text, 'þe fote halde'. Probably the poet wrote 'be fote-halde'. If so, 'halde' would represent ON. haldinn, the pp. of halda, to hold, and although 'fot-haldinn' is not recorded, we find 'haldin orðr', discreet, close, which may be adduced in support of this suggestion.
43. m[u]kkyde: MS. makkyd.
44. *Troy Book*, 11363, deghit = digged.
49. The spe[k]e: MS. thre sperle. I venture to think that the scribe, troubled by the word 'speke', has misread it as 'sperle'. The word so far is only recorded in *Piers Plowman*, B. xv. 270:
‘Monkes and mendynauntz, men bi hem-selue,
In spekes and in spelonkes selden speken togideres.’
The word *speke* probably occurs nowhere else as an English word, and does not appear in any Glossary, to my knowledge. If it were not for the context, it were hard to guess the sense. However, it is clear that *spelonke* is the Lat. *spelunca*, from which it follows that *speke* is the Lat. *specus*’ (Skeat, *Piers Plowman*, ii. 223).
52. roynyshe: this cannot be as *NED*. glosses it, namely from 'roin', scab or scurf, hence paltry, mean, base; for obviously the meaning is that the words could not be understood. Cp. runisch saueȝ, *Cleanness*, 1545; runisch rout, *Gawain*, 457; runischly, *Gawain*, 304;

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ru[n]yschly, *Gawain*, 432. Obviously the sense is 'strange'. The variant form 'renisch' and other reasons make any connexion with OE. rūn, rȳne, ME. roun, ON. rūn, 'rune', difficult, though attractive.

53. **vigures**: this form is generally regarded as a southern Middle English variant of 'figure', and, as in the present passage the *v* alliterates, it might easily be taken as evidence of southern origin. But that the form 'vigure' was not peculiar to the south is evident from its occurrence in so northern a poem as the *Cursor Mundi*, where it is the form recorded in the four chief manuscripts, l. 2290.

54. **muset**: *i.e.* all were non-plussed to read it.

64. **walon**: *i.e.* walen, betook themselves, chose their way. This rare form, the strong pp. of 'wale', to choose, evidently represents the ON. valinn, a strong pp., co-existing with valiðr and valdr, of velja, to choose. The form is found also in such a compound as ON. valin-kunnr, respectable.

68. 'They would look on that coffin, as to what lay within.'

73-4. 'Then one might see perplexity on the people there, that might not understand a strange marvel.'

74. **to-knowe**, to discern; *cp.* OE. tō-cnāwan, to discern, understand; tō-cnāwennes, knowledge, but no other instance than the present passage seems to occur in ME. Similarly 'for-know' (in the sense of 'to slight') occurs but once in ME., *Cleanness*, 119. Both these compounds are unrecorded in *NED*.

75. **glode**: the bright inside; *cp.* *Pearl*, 79, glem of glodeȝ.

76. **both[um]**: MS. bothn.

83. **coyfe**: this means a coif. Being a great representative of the law, the figure naturally bears in the first instance the lawyer's coif.

88. **zorde**: St. Paul's Churchyard.

89. MS. hȳ, *i.e.* hym; not hyn = in, as Dr. Horstmann prints.

92. **in sounde**: in health.

93. 'For a time they asked each other without any answer'; *cp.* *Patience*, 220, 'Bot al watȝ nedles note'.

vschon: this form seems to me to be due to, or to stand for, 'ylche on'.

97. **my[n]de**: MS. myde.

99. **hit is a derfe wonder**: one would rather expect 'were'; it were a great wonder unless some person had stated that he had seen him, *i.e.* if there were no written statement to that effect in chronicles or the like.

100. **couthe**: not in the ordinary sense of 'could', but as a past auxiliary 'did', really used originally for 'gan', past tense of 'ginnan'. 'Couthe', though possibly quite correct in the present passage, was due to a confusion of 'can' = 'gan' with 'can' in the sense of 'be able'. Perhaps the poet wrote 'eon' in this passage, and the scribe changed it to 'couthe', the result being the inharmonious repetition of the word here, in l. 98 (couthely) and l. 101, where 'couthe' is the correct past tense = 'could'.

101. **note**: *cp.* Note on l. 93.

nourne: this word, used three times in the poem, is peculiar to the *Gawain* poet, who uses it seven times in *Cleanness* and *Gawain*.

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Its origin is unknown; it is evidently Scandinavian, and the only Scandinavian dialect where I have been able to trace it is that of Småland, Sweden.

102. 'Either by inscription, sign or record, or by story, tradition.' *Cp.* l. 152, *Gawain*, 2521.

103. *Patt wos breuyt in b[rut]* (MS. *Pat euer wos breuyt in burghe*), i. e. recorded in the annals or chronicles of the land of Britain. The scribe, not understanding 'brut', has written 'burghe'; *cp. Parliament of the Thre Ages*, 407, When the Bruyte in his booke Bretayne it callede.

bok[e]: MS. boko.

104. *mo[n]*: MS. more.

The force of the line is 'None could say (l. 101) that such a man was mentioned'.

more ne lasse: at all.

106. *bolde*: I much doubt the correctness of this word, which looks like a scribal change in place of some rare word. Perhaps the poet wrote 'beu' in place of 'beau', fair. The wonder was that a body so long buried was still so life-like.

107. *primate*: here used evidently for the Bishop of London; not in the technical sense of 'archbishop'.

109. [& p^e]: MS. with; 'and the perplexity among the people'.

116. *d[outh]e*: MS. dede.

119. *na[i]tyd*: MS. nattid.

121. MS. a vison. 'Avison' existed in ME. with the accent on the first syllable, and this may account for the present spelling. For 'a-vis[i]on' *cp.* 'avysyoun', *Pearl*, 1184.

123. [pⁱ]: MS. his.

135. See Preface.

154. *Pat ... his*: whose (an example of the broken relative).

155. *la[i]tid*: MS. lattid.

157. 'If we regard it from the natural point of view, he has certainly not lain here so long as to pass altogether out of memory, unless it were a wonder.'

161. *prouidens*: prescience. 'What is marvellous to men amounts to little, when weighed with the prescience, &c.'

163. *& his mynde passyde*: his mind is overcome.

168. *c[reat]ure*: MS. cure. 'When the creature's craft swerves entirely from counsel, then it behoves the creature to accept the strengthening of the Creator.' 'byhoues' was probably originally the Northern form 'bus'.

169. *so*: in this way.

171. *gl[e]w ... opon*: MS. glow; not 'look upon', but 'call upon'; *cp. Patience*, 164, Bot vехон glewed on his god.

172. *careles* is of counselle: untrammelled in judgment, otherwise 'careles' may mean here 'not niggardly, free'; *cp. Pearl*, 605, For þe gentyl Cheuentayn is no chyche.

[vs]: MS. &.

173. *[Anande]*: MS. &.

NOTES

174. **his** : probably originally 'hise'.
 176. 'And ready to fulfil your inclination.'

179. **p[us]** : MS. **pou**.

layne : be silent.

190. **bray[p]ed** : MS. **brayed** : evidently a scribal error. In ON. *bragða* means 'to give signs of life', of a new-born babe, of one swooning or dying, derived, I think, not, as Cleasby says, from 'braga', but from ON. *braga*, a sudden motion. It = OE. *brægd*, ME. braid. ON. *bregða*, to move swiftly (= OE. *bregdan*) appears in Middle English in the form 'brayþe'; *cp. Cleanness*, 1421, & *breyþed* *vþe in to his brayn*.

192. **s[um] lyf[ly] goste lant** : MS. *sn lant goste lyfe* : *cp. Gawain*, 2250, 'Nay, bi God', *quod Gawayn*, 'þat me gost lante'. With 'sn', compare MS. 'boþn', l. 76.

195. **p^e** : MS. **to p^e**.

202. That is, 'in respect of sitting in judgment, &c., i.e. sitting in judgment at the High Court, I looked after this city'. The nearest approach to this use of 'sad', which seems to be almost technical, as applied to the cases of importance that came before the chief magistrate of the city, is perhaps best illustrated by Buchanan's *Detection*, D. i. 6, 'quihilk esteme the sclanderis of maist lewd slicht personis, for sad testimoneis'; see Jamieson. The form 'sayd' seems to be authentic; 'said' occurs in the Edinburgh MS. of *Cursor Mundi*, l. 23436, but other MSS. give 'sad'.

205. **l[app]id** : MS. **lewid**. The *pp* was written in Middle English in a form that might easily be misread as *w*; hence 'lappid' was read as 'lawid', a variant form of 'lewed'. 'To lap' is first recorded in English about 1225, in the compound 'bilappe' or 'bileppe'. The word is connected with 'lap', meaning a fold or piece of cloth. The Wyclifite rendering of *Matt. xxvii. 59* translates *involut* by 'wlappide' in the earlier version, 'lappide' in the later version, where the *w* of the earlier form is probably due to the influence of the synonymous 'wrap', though some regard the Romanic base *volup*, *vilup* of 'envelope' as paralleled by the ME. form 'wlappen'. Skeat's view, however, is preferable, namely, that the *w* is due to analogy. But 'enveloped' would be an excellent rendering of 'lappid', *cp.* 'hit is bilepped and behud', *Ancren Ricle*, that is, it is enveloped and hidden. The line may therefore be explained as 'it is an enveloped date to tell to any man to make a number of'. Possibly the text originally ran: 'hit is a lappid date To muthe, &c.' *Vide Preface*, p. xxx.

206. **m[ut]he** : MS. **meche**. The scribe, probably misreading 'muthe' as 'muche', has further transformed the adverb into the characteristic form of the poem, 'meche'. The poet's 'muthe' = 'mouthe', to mouth, tell. A similar error is answerable, according to my view, for the difficult line in *Patience*, 54, much ȝif he me ne made = muth ȝif he me ma[n]e]de.

207. *Cp. 42.*

208. **[a]ght** : MS. **fife**; see *Preface*.

210. **[þre hundred]** : MS. **A þousande**; see *Preface*.

211. [o]n eire of an oye[r]: MS. an heire of anoye. This statement seems to have been a source of much trouble to all those who have attempted to deal with the line. Dr. Horstmann renders it 'heire of anoye, ein gefurchteter Herr', *i.e.* a terrible man. Dr. Neilson has: 'oye = grandson, but here?' But the meaning is to my mind clear. 'An heire' = 'on eire', *i.e.* in *eyre*; he was Justice in eyre, one of the itinerant Justices. 'Anoye' is a scribal error for 'an oyer'. 'Oyer' is from the well-known legal phrase 'oyer et terminer', to hear and determine. Commissions of oyer, or justices of oyer, were appointed to hear and determine indictments or special offences, and 'oyer' might be used for the Court of Oyer et Determiner. So he was the Justice in eyre of an Oyer.

213. *Berynge*: the poet probably wrote 'Brennyus'.

227. deputate: *cp.* Rolland, *Court of Venus*, iii. 181, Rhamnusia, quhilk was Iuge deputate, 1560.

domesmon: *cp.* 'domes man', *Cursor Mundi*, 5585, Trinity MS., where the other three texts have 'demister'.

243-4. 'Though it had been the very slayer of my father, I showed him no injustice, nor false favour to my father, though it fell him to be hanged.'

248. to bounty: for a reward.

249. curtest: a correct form of 'curtesest', most noble.

251. gouern[ance þe]: MS. þe gouernour &; *cp.* Alliterative *Troy Book*, 5719, graither of gouernaunce.

252. [þer]: MS. me.

254. þe kidde kynge: this has the force of a superlative = chiefest.

255. þ[at]: MS. þer.

256. rewardid euer riȝt, may possibly mean 'reguarded ever justice'. On the other hand, the line looks as if it anticipated l. 275.

273. say: MS. sayes.

275. *Cp.* Ps. lxii. 12, and *Pearl*, 595.

278. The reference is evidently to Ps. xxiv. 3-4, 'Who shall ascend into the hill of the Lord, or who shall stand in his holy place? He that hath clean hands and a pure heart.' The Latin of the second verse, 'innocens manibus et mundo corde', seems rendered by 'þe skilfulle and þe vnskathely', though it would give a nearer rendering were the words inverted. A more exact rendering of the verse is found in *Pearl*, 681-2. It is of interest to note that the Anglo-Saxon prose version translates 'innocens manibus' by 'þe unscæðfull byð mid his handum'.

The word 'skelton' has hitherto proved a crux. *NED.*, noting that the word 'skelt' is 'of obscure origin', quotes this passage as the first of several instances, assigning to it the sense 'to hasten, to be diligent'. A number of words of distinct origin are, I think, included under this one heading. The present word I take to be derived from OF. *esquelete, eschelete; *cp.* esquele, mod. F. échelle, a ladder. 'Eschellett', a small ladder, is found in the sixteenth century in English. 'Skelt' seems to be equal to '*esqueleter', to mount the steps of a ladder, and, if so, is an accurate rendering of

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'ascendere', Vulgate 'ascendet'. Lat. *scala*, the origin of Fr. *échelle*, is from the same root as 'scandere'. The poet probably had in mind 'scala coeli', the ladder into heaven. The Psalm does not actually make the Lord speak, the Psalmist himself appears to be the speaker. But our poet uses 'to me' advisedly, referring the words to the Lord; for the homilist interpreted the answer as God's own response. The author of *Pearl* distinctly makes this very point, l. 680.

'Hymself to onsware he is not dylle;'

see Note on the passage.

I would differentiate this word 'skelt' from 'skelten', *Cleanness*, 1554, 'scoleres skelten þeratte'. This seems to me the weak past of 'skjalla', or causal 'skella', to clash, hammer, i.e. they cudgelled their brains.

The other quotations under 'skelt' in *NED*. with reference to skirmish and alarm may be referable, I suggest, to OF. *escheleter*, *esqualetor*, going back to OF. *eschele*, a little bell. If so, the phrase 'skeltyng of harme' in the *Destruction of Troy*, ll. 1089, 6042, would mean a notifying of peril.

285. *plete*: not here, as *NED*. suggests, pledge under risk, i.e. OE. *pliht*, but 'true condition, state of being, existence', AF. *plete*. The former meaning might be true if the reference were to the Redemption.

286. *p[el]*: MS. *p[!]*.

292. *p[el], [m]e*: MS. *p[!]*, ne.

p[el] loffynge: praising Thee. *Cp.* stage direction in *Chester Plays*, xvii (Christ's Descent into Hell): Et sic Ibunt glorificantes Deum, cantantes 'Te Deum'.

293. *n[o]*: MS. ne.

297. *te[e]he & t[o]ke*: MS. *tethe & take*; *gl[e]tte*, MS. *glotte*. 'Ye were empoisoned by his sin, and imbibed the corruption.'

entouchid: so far as I am aware there is no other occurrence, and certainly none recorded in English, of OF. *entoschier*, *entochier*, *entoucher*, with many variant forms = Latin *intoxicāre*, i.e. to poison. *Entosche*, *entouche* = poison, *n.* The words are common in OF., though lost in Modern French. The collocation of 'entsosche et venim' is also found, *cp.* 'entsosche e venim out meslé' (Ben., *D. de Norm.*, ii. 36944), and

'Male bouche

Qui envenime et qui entouche
Tous ceulz dont il fait sa matiere'.

(*Rose*, Vat. Chr., 1522, f. 27c.)

Evidently the poet is thinking of some such combination of 'entoucher et envenimer', and wrote 'toke in the glette', i.e. imbibed the venom, 'glotte' being a scribal error for 'glette', *cp. Cleanness*, 306, *þe gore þer-of me hatȝ greued & þe glette nwyed*; also 573-4, *þat vn-happen glette, þe venom & þe vylanye & þe vycios fylpe*.

In all probability the scribe, in writing 'take' for 'toke', had in mind the teeth of the whale as a symbol of death, and wrote 'glotte' with some thought of its being in the sense of swallowing; *cp. Patience*,

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252. *Wythouten towche of any tothe he tult in his protē*; cp. glut, the amount swallowed at a gulp. Glette, from OF. *glette* = slimy fluid, purulent matter, pus.

302. *þe depe lake*: the deep pit; a fairly common sense of the word in fourteenth-century Biblical English. Lat. *lacus* has this sense in late Latin and in the Vulgate, the idea being a hole or reservoir. Lewis and Short refer the Vulgate use in the sense of 'the place of the dead' to association with the river Styx, but there appears to be no evidence in favour of this view. It should also be noted that OF. *lac* is found for cavern or pit.

304. This looks like an echo of *Patience*, 19-20,

‘Pay ar happen also bat hungeres after ryȝt,
For pay schal frely be refete ful of alle gode.’

306. **Dy[m]ly**: MS. dynly.

307. **Hungrie**: so MS., not 'hungre'. The MS. might possibly even be read 'hungrid'.

herken after meeles: yearn after meals. This most interesting early use of 'hearken' in the sense of 'scent after' is familiar to us in the modern phrase 'to hark back', and the dialect expression 'to hark after'. Indeed, to hark, in the sense of 'to smell', is recorded in *EDD*.—'Hark that smell'. Here, the sense seems to be 'to be in wait for, to yearn after'.

312. **spakly**: quickly, cp. *Patience*, 338, Pat he hym sput spakly upon spare drye.

320. **daungerde**: harmed; cp. Alliterative *Troy Book*, 146, no daunger nor deire.

321. [of his] **wete eghen**: MS. þe wete of eghen. The scribe left a small space after 'of', as if he was in some difficulty, and intended to make a correction.

322. [þe]: MS. &.

328. **lures**: lourings, glooms, darknesses; (?) cp. OE. lūrian; cp. *Pearl*, 358, & þy lureȝ of lyȝtly leme, and ll. 305-6 above.

331. **silent**: splash, sprinkling; cp. ON. *sleint, Norw. slett, from *slenta, ON. sletta, to dash, throw.

333. **weshe vs**: evidently pr. pl. It is worth suggesting that possibly the poet wrote 'wishes of Payne', and that 'vs', which is somewhat unexpected, is due to a scribal misreading.

334. **loghe**: MS. loghee.

337. *Cp. Cleanness*.

343. **moldes**: cp. *Pearl*, 30, moldeȝ dunne; *Cleanness*, 494, A message fro þat meyny hem moldeȝ to seche.

344. **rottok**: the next recorded occurrence after this in *NED*. is from Jamieson's *Popular Ballads*, 1806, where it is glossed as 'old musty corn, literally, the grubs in a bee-hive'; and the Banffshire Glossary under 'rottack', 1867, has 'anything stored up for a long time with the idea of mustiness'.

GLOSSARY

- a, *v.* an.
abatyd, *pp.* demolished, 37; OF. abatre.
abbay, 108; OF. abbeie.
a-boute, *adv.* 48; *prep.* aboute, 110; OE. on-bütan.
abyme, pit of hell, 334; OF. abime.
acounte, reckoning, 209; OF. acunt.
Adam, 295.
adon, *adv.* down, 322; OE. of dūne.
after, *adv.* 112, 116; *prep.* 126, 141; according to, by the authority of, 195; OE. æfter.
after-warde, 127; OE. æfter-weard.
age, 150; OF. aäge.
aghe, *n.* fear, 234; ON. agi.
aght, (1) *pt.* 3 s. owned, 27; 2 s. aghtes, 224; OE. āgan.
aght (2), eight, 210; OE. eahta.
aghtene, eighteen, 208; OE. eahtatiene.
al, *adj. with sg.* 119, 331; alle, 137, 246; *with pl.* 10, 14, 23, 171; *absol.* 310; al, 144; *adv.* 75, 122; alle, 300; OE. eall.
alder, ancestor, 295; OE. ealdor.
alder-grattyst, greatest of all, 5; *alder-gratatest*, 337; OE. ealra, great.
allas, 288; OF. a las.
alowes, *pr.* 3 s. commends, 267; OF. alouer.
als, as, 85, 242; **as**, 4, 36, 344; OE. eall swā.
also, 327; OE. eall, swā.
amounete, *inf.* reach, 284; OF. amunter.
an, *indef. art.* 108; **a**, 3; OE. än.
[anande], concerning, 173; OE. on efn + d.
and, 280; &, 2; **ande**, 59; OE. and.
ansuare (1), *n.* 127; OE. andswaru.
ansuare (2), *imp. s.* 184; OE. andswarian.
any, 85, 206, 284; OE. ānig.
Appolyn, 19.
appulle, 295; OE. æppel.
araide, *pp.* 77; arayed, 271; OF. arayer.
are (1), before, 36; OE. ār; ON. ār; cp. er.
are (2), arne, art, *v. be.*
art, school, system, 33; OF. art, *as, v. als.*
aske, *pr. pl. subj.* 171; *pt. s.* 96; OE. āscian.
aspied, *pt. s.* 65; cp. OF. espier.
assent, *n.* 66; OF. assent.
at, 1; from, 170; OE. at.
atyride, *pp.* robed, 130; OF. atirer.
Austyn, Augustine, 12; *gen.* Augustynes, 33.
autere, altar, 137; OF. auter.
auay, *inf.* instruct, 174; OF. avei, *stem of avier.*
a-vis[i]on, vision, 121; OF. avision.
auiside, *pt. pl.* studied, 53; OF. avisier.
awen, own, 235; OE. āgen.
ay, ever, 278, 287, 301; ON. ei.
ay-lastande, eternal, 347; ON. ei, OE. læstan.
bale, sorrow, 257, 340; OE. bealu.
balefully, sorrowfully, 311; OE. bealfull + (ly).

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- bapteme**, baptism, 330; OF. bapteme.
- barones**, 142; OF. baron.
- bashis**, *pr. 3 s.* surprises, 261; OF. esbaiss-, *inchoative stem of* esbair.
- baythes**, *pr. 3 s.* asks, 257; ON. beiða.
- be**, *inf.* 94; *pres.* 2 *s.* art, 185; 3 *s.* is, 19, 153; *pl.* arne, 304, are, 283; *imp. s.* be, 325; *pr. 1.s.* subj. 122; 3 *s.* 326; *pt. 1.s.* was, 201, 211; 2 *s.* wos, 288; 3 *s.* 11, 31; was, 3, 6, 255; *pl.* were, 32, 128; *pt. 1.s.* subj. 197; 3 *s.* 226, 239; *pp.* bene, 7, 26; OE. bēon; *cp.* nas.
- bede**, *v.* bydde.
- bedels**, town-criers, 59; messengers, 111; OE. bydel; OF. bedel.
- before**, *prep.* 143; *conj.* 209; OE. beforan.
- begynnes**, *pr. 3 s.* 131; OE. beginnan.
- behalue**, behalf, name, 181; OE. be healfē.
- belles**, *pl.* 352; OE. belle.
- Belyn**, 213.
- beme**, tree, cross, 182; OE. bēam.
- benche**, judge's seat, 250; OE. benc.
- bende**, *pp.* bound, 182; OE. bēdan.
- bere**, *v.* be.
- bere**, *pt. 3 s.* bore, 311, 326; OE. beran.
- beryd**, *pt. pl.* beat, rang, 352; ON. berja.
- Berynge**, 213.
- besiet**, *pt. pl.* employed, 56; OE. bysgian.
- best**, *v.* gode.
- besyde**, *v.* by-side.
- bete**, *pt. 3 pl.* beat, 9; *pp.* beten; OE. bēatan.
- better**, *v.* gode.
- biddes**, *v.* bydde.
- bi**, *v.* by.
- bigripide**, *pt. 3 s.* begirt, 80; OE. begripan.
- biknowe**, *imp. s.* confess, 221; OE. becnāwan.
- bileue**, faith, 173; **bileue**, 299; OE. (ge)lēafa.
- bischop**, 33, 111; **bisshop**, 193, 221; **byschop**, 3, 129; OE. bīscop.
- biseche**, *inf.* 120; OE. be- + sēcan.
- bitan**, *pp.* given to, 28; be- + ON. taka.
- bitwene**, *adv.* 196; *prep.* 214; OE. betwēonum.
- blakke**, 343; OE. blæc.
- blee**, colour, 87, 343; OE. blēo.
- blessid**, *pp.* 340; **blissid**, 326; **blessyd**, consecrated, 3; OE. blētsian.
- blis**, 340; **blisse**, 345; OE. bliþs.
- blisful**, 326; **blisfulle**, 76; OE. bliþs + full.
- blissid**, *v.* blessid.
- blo**, dark, 290; ON. blār.
- blode**, blood, 182, 290; OE. blōd.
- blonke**, horse, *literally* white (horse), 112; OE. blanca.
- blynne**, *inf.* stop, 111; OE. blinnan.
- blysnande**, shining, 87; *cp.* OE. ablīsian.
- bode**, bidding, 181; **boode**, 193; OE. bod.
- oden**, *v.* bydde.
- bode-worde**, message, 105; OE. bod + word.
- body**, 76, 94; OE. bodig.
- boghe**, *inf.* bow, 194; *pt. pl.* boghit, went, 59; OE. búgan.
- boghtes**, *pt. 2 pl.* boughtest, 289; OE. bycgan.
- bok[e]**, book, 103; OE. bōc.
- bolde**, *adj.* 213; (?) great, 106 (*see Note*); OE. beald.
- bone(1)**, petition, 194; ON. bōn.
- bone(2)**, murderer, 243; OE. bana.

GLOSSARY

- bone** (3), obedient, 181; ON. būnn, ready.
- bones**, bones, 346; OE. bān.
- bonkes**, shores, borders, 32; ON. *banke; Olcel. bakki.
- boode**, *v.* bode.
- bordure**, edge, 51; *pl.* bordures, 82; OF. bordure.
- bot**, *conj.* 52, 141; only, 32; if not, 100; I may not bot, 194; hit myt not be bot, 97; OE. būtan.
- bote**, avail, 170; remedy, 327; OE. bōt.
- bothe**, 194; ON. bāxir.
- both[um]**, bottom, 76; OE. botm.
- bounty**, reward, 248; OF. bontet.
- bourne**, stream, 330; OE. burna.
- brownche**, part, share, 276; OF. branche.
- bray[ped]**, *pt. 3 s.* moved, 190 (*see Note*); ON. bragxa.
- Bretaynes**, Britain's, 32.
- Breton**, Briton, 213; *pl.* Bretons, 9.
- breuyt**, *pp.* written, 103; ON. bréfa; med.L. breviaire.
- brode**, broad, 55; OE. brād.
- broght**, *v.* brynge.
- brothire**, 213; OE. brōðor.
- b[rut]**, chronicle, 103; W. brut.
- Brutus**, 207.
- bryȝt**, bright, 51, 87; OE. beorht, breht.
- brynge**, *inf.* 56; *pp.* broght, 105; OE. bringan.
- buggyd**, *pp.* built, 37; buggid, 207; ON. byggja, to inhabit.
- burde**, *pt. impers.* it behoved, 260; OE. byrian.
- burgeys**, citizens, 59; OF. burgeis.
- burghes**, town, 3; OE. burh.
- buriet**, *pt. pl.* buried, 248; *pp.* buried, 94; buriede, 106; OE. byrgan.
- burynes**, tomb, 142, 190; OE. byrignes.
- buskyd**, *pt. 3 s.* set out, 112; ON. būask.
- busmare**, *n.* insult, 214; OE. bismere.
- by**, *prep.* 66; bi, 90; OE. bī.
- bydde**, *pr.* 1 *s.* command, 181; 3 *s.* biddes, 221; *pt. 1 s.* bede, offered, 243; 3 *pl.* commanded, 67; *pp.* boden, offered, 214; OE. bēdan, bidden.
- byhoues**, *pr. impers.* it behoves, 168; OE. bihōfian.
- byschop**, *v.* bischop.
- by-side**, *adv.* aside, 67; *prep.* be-syde, 142; OE. be sidan.
- by-tyme**, forthwith, 112; OE. bī, tima.
- caȝt**, *v.* kaghten.
- callid**, *pt. 3 s.* 16; ON. kalla.
- camelyn**, a stuff made of camel's hair, 82; OF. camelin.
- careles**, untrammelled, 172; OE. carlēas.
- carpe**, *inf. say*, 317; ON. karpa.
- cast**, *inf.* 317; *pp.* kest, 83; ON. kasta.
- cause**, *n.* 221; *pl.* causes, cases, 202; OF. cause.
- cayser**, emperor, 199; ON. keisiari; L. Cæsar.
- cenacle**, banqueting room, 336; OF. cenacle.
- cessyd**, *pt. 3 s.* ceased, 341; *pp.* 136; OF. cesser.
- chargeit**, *pt. 3 s.* commissioned, 18; OF. charger.
- chaungit**, *pt. 3 s.* 18; OF. changer.
- chere**, expression, 342; OF. chere.
- cheuely**, primarily, 18; OF. chef + ly.
- childe**, *gen. s.* 318; OE. cild.
- cite**, city, 202; OF. cite.
- cladden**, *pt. pl.* 249; OE. clæðan.
- clansyd**, *pt. 3 s.* cleansed, 16; OE. clānsian.

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- clene, fair, 82; undefiled, 259;
 OE. clæne.
 clerke, scholar, 55; OE., OF. cleric.
 clos, enclosure, 55; OF. clos.
 clothe, cloth, 82; fabric of at-
 tire, 148, 263; clothing, 266;
 pl. clothes, clothes, 259; OE.
 clāþ.
 cloutes, rags, 259; OE. clūt.
 cloyster, enclosed place, 140;
 OF. cloistre.
 clustrede, fastened together,
 140; OE. clyster, a cluster.
 colde, *adv.* wretchedly, 305; OE.
 cealde.
 colour, colour of attire, 148; co-
 loure, 263; OF. culur.
 comaundit, *pt.* 3 s. 115; OF.
 cumander.
 come, *pt.* 3 s. came, 113; *pl.* com-
 men, 63; OE. cuman.
 comforte, *n.* strengthening,
 168, 172; OF. cunfort.
 committid, *pp.* appointed, 201;
 L. committere.
 communnates, commonalties,
 14; OF. comunauté.
 con, *pr. pl.* can, 156; *pt.* 3 s.
 couthe, 100, 249; OE. cann.
 confirmynge, *pr. p.* 124; OF.
 confermer; L. confirmāre.
 confourmyd, *pt.* 3 s. regulated,
 242; OF. conformer.
 consciens, *n.* 237; OF. con-
 science.
 conuertyd, *pt.* 3 s. converted, 14;
 OF. convertir.
 corce, *v. cors.*
 corners, 71; AF. corner; OF.
 cornier.
 coron, crown, 83; cron, 222;
 OF. corone.
 coronyd, *pt. pl.* crowned, 254;
 OF. coroner.
 corrupt, *adj.* 346; OF. corrupt;
 L. corruptus.
 cors, body, 110; corce, 177; OF.
 cors.
- councеле, *imp. s.* conceal, 184;
 OF. concealer.
 counselle, wisdom, 167, 172;
 AF. conseil.
 courte, court of justice, 249; OF.
 curt.
 couthe, *v. con.*
 couthely, manifestly, 98; OE.
 cūðlice.
 couert, *pt. 3 s.* covered, 346; OF.
 cuvrir.
 couetise, covetousness, 237; OF.
 coviteitise.
 coyfe, head-covering, lawyer's
 cap, 83; OF. coife.
 crafte, skill, 167; something skil-
 fully formed, thing made, 346;
 OE. crāft.
 crafty, skilfully wrought, 44;
 OE. crāftig.
 erakit, *pp.* uttered, 110; OE.
 cracian.
 creatore, creator, 168; OF.
 creator.
 c[reat]ure, creature, 168; *gen. s.*
 creatures, 167; OF. creature.
 Crist, 2; Criste, 209; *gen. s.*
 Cristes, 16.
 cristен, Christian, 124, 209; OE.
 cristen.
 Cristendome, 2; Christen-
 dame, 14; OE. cristendōm.
 cron, *v. coron.*
 cronicle, record, 156; *pl.* cro-
 nicles, 44; AF. cronicle; OF.
 cronique.
 crosse, 2; ON. kross.
 crowes, crow-bars, 71; OE.
 crāwe.
 crownes, tonsures, 55; AF.
 coroune.
 cry, *n.* 110; OF. cri.
 cumly, fitting, 82; OE. cȳmlīc.
 curtest, most courteous, 249;
 OF. curteis.
 dalfе, *pt. 3 pl.* dug, 45; *pp.* dol-
 uen, buried, 99; OE. delfan.

GLOSSARY

- dampnyd**, *pp.* condemned, 302; OF. dampner, damner.
- date**, *n.* 205; OF. date.
- daungerde**, *pt. 3 s. subj.* damaged, 320; OF. dangerer.
- dawes**, *pr. 3 s.* dawns, 306; *pt. 3 s.* dawid, 27; OE. dagian.
- day**, 236; *pl. dayes*, 155; dawes, 7; OE. dæg.
- day-belle**, morning bell, 117; OE. dæg, belle.
- debonerte**, graciousness, 123; OF. debonairete.
- declynet**, *pt. 3 s.* deviated, 237; OF. decliner.
- dede** (1), task, duty, 169; OE. dæd.
- dede** (2), dead, 225, 320; OE. dēad.
- dedifie**, *inf.* dedicate, 6; *pt. 3 s.* dedifiest, 23; *confusion between* OF. dedier, L. dēdicāre, *and* OF. edefier, L. ædificāre.
- defaute**, defect, 148; OF. defaute.
- deghed**, *pt. 1 s.* died, 246; ON. deyja.
- dene**, dean, 144; OF. deien.
- denyed**, *pt. 3 s.* resounded, 246; OE. dynian.
- depe**, *adj.* deep, 302; *adv.* 45, 99; OE. dēop.
- deputate**, deputy, 227; L. dēputātus.
- dere**, dear, 225; precious, 193; deere, noble, 23, 123, 144; *sup.* derrest, 29; OE. dēore.
- derfe**, extraordinary, 99; ON. djarfr, bold.
- derke**, dark, 117, 294; OE. deorc.
- derrest**, *v.* dere.
- dethe**, 247, 294; OE. dēap.
- deuelle**, devil, 15; deuel, 27; OE. dēofol.
- deuisyd**, *v.* deuysye.
- deuoydes**, *pr. 3 s.* expels, 348; *pt. 3 s.* deuoydit, withdrew, 116; OF. devoidier.
- deuyne**, *pr. 1 pl. subj.* conjecture, 169; OF. deviner.
- deuyse**, *inf.* relate, 225; *pt. 3 s.* deuisyt, 309; deuysit, arranged, 144; OF. deviser.
- digne**, *imp. s.* vouchsafe, 123; OF. degnier.
- ditte**, *pt. 3 s.* shut, 116; OE. dyttan.
- dole**, part, 6; OE. dāl.
- doluen**, *v.* dalfe.
- dome**, judgment, 236; OE. dōm.
- domesmon**, judge, 227; OE. dōmes, mann.
- Domini**, of the Lord, 132.
- don**, *v.* doun.
- doun**, down, 320; **don**, 6, 311; OE. dūn.
- douth[e]**, company, 116; OE. dugub.
- drawen**, *pp.* pulled, 6; OE. dragan.
- dred**, *n.* fear, 233; OE. (an)-drēdan.
- dreme**, sound, 191; OE. drēam.
- drery**, doleful, 191; OE. drēorig.
- dresse**, *inf.* prepare, 236; OF. dresser.
- droppyd**, *pt. 2 s. subj.* 320; OE. dropian.
- dryghtyn**, lord, 29; OE. dryhten.
- dryues**, *pr. 3 s.* 191; OE. drīfan; *cp.* ouer-drofe.
- duke**, 227; OF. duc.
- dul**, grief, 246; OF. doel, duel.
- dulfully**, wretchedly, 302, 309; OF. doel + -full + -ly.
- durr**, door, 116; OE. duru.
- dwellide**, *pt. pl.* 10; OE. dwellan.
- dwynande**, pining, 294; OE. dwinan.
- dyght**, *pt. 3 s.* set in order, 23; dyȝt, appointed, 294; OE. dihtan.
- dyȝt**, *pt. pl.* dug, 45; OF. diguer.
- dy[m]ly**, *adv.* 306; OE. dimlic, *adj.*
- dyuerse**, different, 60; OF. divers.
- eft**, again, 37; OE. eft.
- eggit**, *pp.* edged, 40; OE. ecg, *n.*

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- eghe-lyddes, eyelids, 178; OE. ēāge, hlid.
- eghen, eyes, 194, 311; OE. ēage.
- eire, circuit, 211 (*see Note*); OF. eire.
- elles, otherwise, 121; OE. elles.
- enbaawmyd, *pp.* embalmed, 261, 265; OF. enbaumer.
- enbelicit, *pp.* adorned, 51; OF. enbelliss, *inchoative stem.* of enbellir.
- ende, *n.* 136; OE. ende.
- Englonde, 1.
- enjoynyd, *pp.* appointed, 216; OF. enjoign-, *stem of* enjoindre, *cp. joyned.*
- enprise, renown, 253; OF. emprise.
- entouchid, empoisoned, 297; OF. entoucher (*see Note*).
- er, before, 308; ere, 19, 118; OE. ār; *cp. are* (1).
- eres, ears, 90; OE. ēare.
- Erkenwolde, 4, 33, 108, 118.
- erthe, earth, 45, 196; OE. eorþe.
- Esex, 108.
- ete, *pt. 3 s.* ate, 295; OE. etan.
- euel, hardly, 276; OE. yfele.
- euer, ever, 104, 198; always, 230, 267; for e., 154, 296; OE. āfre.
- euermore, 26; euer-more, 110; OE. āfre, māre.
- exiled, *pp.* 303; OF. exilier.
- face, 89, 323; OF. face.
- fader, father, 244, 294; *gen. s.* 243, 318; OE. fader.
- faire, 46, 317; OE. fæger.
- faithe, *pp.* 124, 173; faythe, 13, 204; OF. feid.
- faitheles, unbelieving, 287; OF. feid + -less.
- faitheful, 299; OF. feid + -full.
- fals, treacherous, 231; unfair, 244; OE., OF. fals.
- fastyng, confirmation, 173; OE. fæsting.
- fauour, favour, 244; OF. favour.
- faylid, *pt. 3 s.* lacked, 287; faylide, passed away, 342; OF. failir.
- fayne, desirous, 176; OE. fægen.
- faythe, *v.* faithe.
- felle, *pt. 3 s.* 323; *impers.* it befel, 244; OE. feallan.
- felonse, fierce, 231; (?)OF. felons, *adj. nom. s.*; *cp. NED.*
- ferforthe, far, 242; OE. feorr, forþ.
- ferly (1), *n.* marvel, 145; OE. færlic, sudden.
- ferly (2), *adv.* marvellously, 46; OE. færlice.
- fest, feast, 303; OF. feste.
- fleshe, 89; OE. flæsc.
- flore, level surface, foundation, 46; OE. flōr.
- folke, 231; OE. folc.
- folwe, *pr. 1 s.* baptize, 318; OE. fulwian.
- fonte, font, 299; OE. font; Eccles. Lat. fontem.
- for, *prep.* 296, 310; *conj.* 7, 29; OE. for.
- for-go, *inf.* 276; OE. forgān.
- forth, *adv.* 351; OE. forþ.
- forþi, therefore, 279; OE. forþy.
- forwraast, *pp.* overpowered, 220; OE. for + wræstan, to twist.
- fote, base of building, 42; OE. fōt.
- founden, *v.* fynde.
- fourme, form, 230; OF. fourme.
- fourmyt, *pp.* formed, in good condition, 46; OF. fourmer.
- fourty, 230; OE. fēowertig.
- fre, noble, 318; OE. frēo.
- freke, man, 287, 323; OE. freca.
- frende, friendly, 174; OE. frēond, *n.*
- freshe, unsullied, 89; OF. fresche, *f.*

GLOSSARY

- freten**, *v.* moght-freten.
fro, from, 12, 107; ON. frā.
frowarde, refractory, 231; ON. frā + -ward.
ful, *adv.* 55, 82; *fulle*, 1, 53; OE. full.
fulfilie, *inf.* 176; OE. full-fyllan.
fulloght, baptism, 299; OE. fulluhrt.
fulsen, *imp. s.* help, 124; *cp.* OE. fullæstan.
fundement, foundation, 42; OF. fondement; L. fundāmentum.
furrid, *pt. 3 pl.* clothed in fur, 252; *pp.* furrit, lined with fur, 81; OF. forre, sheath, case.
fynde, *inf.* 156; *pt. pl.* founden, 43, 46; OE. findan.
fyndyngē, *n.* 145; OE. findan + -ing.
fyne, pure, 173; *sup.* fynest, most excellent, 252; OF. fin.
fynger, 145, 165; OE. finger.
fyrre, further, 169, 293; OE. fyrr.
fyrst, *adj.* 331; *adv.* 197; *on f.* 42, 144; *on fyrste*, 207; OE. fyrist.

gardeles, carved ornaments like gargoyle, 48; OF. gargouille.
garnysh, *pp.* 48; OF. garniss-, lengthened stem of garnir.
gate, way, 241; ON. gata.
gay, bright, 75; brightly dressed, 134; OF. gai.
gedrid, *pp.* assembled, 134; OE. gædrian.
gefe, *v.* gyfe.
gentil (1), heathen, 216; OF. gentil; L. gentilis.
gentil (2), noble, 229; OF. gentil.
gete, *pt. 3 s.* induced, 241; ON. geta.
glent, *inf.* deviate, 241; *cp.* Sw. dial. glänta, to slip.
gl[e]tte, venom, 297 (*see Note*); OF. glette.
- gl[e]w**, *pr. 1 pl. subj. call*, 171; OE. gleowian.
glisnande, glittering, 78; OE. glisnian.
glode, bright space, 75 (*see Note*); *cp.* ON. glaðr, shining, solar-glaðan, sunset; OF. glæd, shining; OE. sunne gæþ to glade; Orkney dial. glode; *cp.* E. glade, glode.
God, 325, 339; **Godde**, 171, 282; *gen. s.* Goddes, 316; OE. god.
gode, good, 230; *adv.* wele, 183; *wel*, 119; *comp.* better, 18; *sup.* best, 272; OE. gōd.
golde, 75, 248; *attrib.* 51; OE. gold.
goste, 127, 192; OE. gäst.
gouvern[ance], governing power, 251; OF. gouvernance.
gowne, 78; OF. goune.
grace, 120, 171; OF. grace.
gracious, 319; OF. gracious.
graunte, *n.* promise, 126; OF. graanter, *v.b.*
gräue, grave, 153; OE. græf, *dat.* græfe.
gray, *adj.* 48; OE. græg.
graythist, wealthiest, 251; ON. greiðr.
grete (1), ground, 41; OE. græt.
grete (2), great, 134, 282; OE. græat.
grette, *pt. 3 s.* cried, 126; OE. grætan.
gronynge, *n.* groan, 282; OE. gränung.
grounde, foundation, 41; OE. grund.
grubber, digger, 41; OE. *grybba + -er; *cp.* ON. gryfja; E. Fris. grubbeln.
grue, whit, 319; (?) OF. gru, grain; *v. NED.*
gurden, *pt. 3 pl.* girt, 251; OE. gyrdan.
gurdille, girdle, 80; OE. gyrdel.

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- gyfe, *inf.* give, 276; *pt.* 3 *s.* gefe, 282; OE. giefan.
- gynful, deceitful, 238; *cp.* OF. engin.
- gynge, company, 137; OE. genge.
- ȝea, yea, 273; OE. gēa.
- ȝee, ye, 170; ȝe, 175, 297; *acc.* ȝow, 174; OE. gē.
- ȝemyd, *pt.* 1 *s.* ruled, 202; OE. gēman.
- ȝepely, recently, 88; OE. gēaplice.
- ȝere, *pl.* years, 208, 210; ȝeres, 11; OE. gēar, *pl.*
- ȝet, yet, 44, 148; in addition, 210, 257; OE. giet, get.
- ȝisturday, yesterday, 88; OE. gestordæge.
- ȝode, *pt.* 3 *s.* went, 198; OE. gān, *pt.* ēode.
- ȝorde, yard (?) = St. Paul's Churchyard, 88; OE. geard.
- ȝoskyd, *pt.* 3 *s.* sobbed, 312; OE. geocsa, *n.*; *cp.* OE. giscian.
- ȝour, your, 173, 174; OE. ēower.
- ȝow, *v.* ȝee.
- had, hade, haden, hades, *v.* haue.
- halde, *inf.* hold, 42, 166; holde, 232, 249; *pr.* 2 *s.* haldes, 223; OE. healdan; *cp.* vp-halden.
- halowes, saints, 23; OE. hälga.
- han, *v.* haue.
- harde, 40, 288; OE. heard.
- harmes, 232; OE. hearm.
- has, *v.* haue.
- hathel, man, 198; *deriv. unknown.*
- hatte, *pt.* 3 *s.* was called, 4, 25; OE. hättte.
- haue, *inf.* have, 260; *pr.* 3 *s.* has, 296; *pl.* han, 300; haue, 155; *pt.* 2 *s.* hades, 224; 3 *s.* had, 7; hade, 119; *pl.* haden, 8; *pt.* s. subj. hade, 100; *pl.* 88; OE. habban.
- he, 13; *dat.* hym, 17, 89; *acc.* 100; OE. hē.
- hedde, head, 281; OE. hēafod.
- heere, *pr.* 1 *s.* praise, 339; *pp.* herid, 325; OE. herian.
- heghe, *adj.* high, 129, 137; *sup.* heghest, 253; *adv.* heghe, 223; OE. hēah.
- heldes, *pr.* 3 *pl.* bow, 196; *pt.* 3 *s.* heldyt, turned away, departed, 137; OE. heldan.
- helle, 196; OE. hel.
- helle-hole, the pit of hell, 291, 307; OE. hel, hol.
- hemmyd, *pp.* bordered, 78; OE. hemm, *n.*
- hende, gracious, 325; near at hand, 58; OE. (ge)hende.
- Hengyst, *gen. s.* 7.
- hent, *pt.* 1 *s.* received, 232; 2 *s.* hentes, took, 291; OE. hentan.
- herden, *pt.* *pl.* heard, 310; OE. hīeran.
- here, *adv.* 13; OE. hēr.
- herghedes, *pt.* 2 *s.* harriedst, 291; OE. hergian.
- herid, *v.* heere.
- herken, *inf.* hear, 134; yearn after, 307 (*see Note*); OE. heorenian.
- hert, heart, 242, 257; OE. heorte.
- hethen, heathen, 7; OE. hēðen.
- heuen, heaven, 166, 196; OE. heofon.
- hewe, *inf.* hew, 40; *pp.* hewen, 47; OE. hēwan.
- hewes, hues, 87; OE. heow.
- highide, *pt.* *pl.* hastened, 58; OE. higian.
- his, 5, 28; OE. his.
- hit (1), *nom.* it, 7, 26; *acc.* 279; *nom. pl.* 304; OE. hit.
- hit (2), its, 309.
- ho, she, 274, 308; *dat.* hyr, 280, 338; *acc.* 308, 337; OE. hēo.
- holde, *v.* halde.
- holy, 4, 127; OE. hālig.
- hom, *v.* þai.

GLOSSARY

- home**, 107; OE. hām.
honde, hand, 84, 223; *pl.* **hondes**, 90, 166; OE. hand.
honde-quile, instant, 64; OE. hand-hwīl.
honeste, honesty, 253; OF. honeste.
hongyt, *pp.* hanged, 244; OE. hangian.
honour, 253; OF. honur.
hope, *pr.* 1 *s.* believe, 4; OE. hopian.
hor, their, 17, 61; OE. heora.
houre, *n.* 326; *pl.* **hours**, prayers said at the canonical hours, 119; OF. ure; L. hōra.
how, 258, 283; OE. hū.
hummyd, *pt. 3 s.* murmured, 281; *cp.* MHG. hummen; MSwed. hum, *n.*
hundred, 208; **hundrid**, 58; OE. hundred.
hungride, *pt. pl.* 304; OE. hyn-gran, hungor, *n.*
hungrie, *adj.* 307; OE. hungrig.
hurlyd, *pt. 3 s.* flung, 17; *cp.* LG. hurrelen.
hyder, hither, 8; OE. hider.
hym, *v. he.*
hyr, *v. ho.*
- I**, 4; *dat. me.* 278; *acc.* 292; OE. ic.
ilke, same, 101, 193; **ylka** (= ilk a), each, 96; OE. ilca.
in (1), *prep.* 1, 326; **inne**, 149; OE. in.
in (2), *adv.* 24; OE. inn.
into, *prep.* 302; *in-to*, 9; OE. intō.
in-with, within, 307; OE. in, wið.
is, *v. be.*
- James**, 22.
japes, tricks, 238; OF. japper, to bark, *with sense of* OF. gaber, to mock; *cp.* ON. gabba.
- Jhesus, 180; Jhesu, 22.
ioly, beautiful, 229; OF. joli.
Jono, Juno, 22.
ioy, joy, 180, 188; OF. joi.
joyned, *pp.* appointed, 188; OF. joign-, *stem of* joindre; *cp. en-joynyd.*
Jubiter, 22.
iuge, judge, 216; OF. juge.
iugement, judgment, 238; OF. judgement.
iuggid, *pp.* judged, 188; iuggit, 180; OF. jugier.
justifiet, *pt.* 1 *s.* administered justice in, 229; OF. justifier.
iustises, justices, 254; OF. justise.
- kaghten**, *pt. 3 pl.* took hold, 71; *pp.* caȝt, taken, 148; ONF. cachier.
keies, keys, 140; OE. cāg.
kene, wise, 254; OE. cēne.
kenely, eagerly, 63; OE. cēnlīce.
kenne, *inf.* know, 124; OE. cennan.
kepten, *pt. pl.* guarded, kept private, 66; *pp.* kepyd, preserved, 266; IOE. cépan.
kest, *v. cast.*
kidde, *pp.* renowned, 222, 254; kyddē, 44; **k. of Saint Paule**, called St. Paul's, 113; OE. (ge)-cýðed.
kithe, country, 98; OE. cýðð.
know, *pr. 1 s.* 263; *pt. 3 s.* knewe, 285; OE. cnāwan; *cp.* to-knowe, vñknawen.
knyȝt, knight, 199; OE. cnicht.
kydde, *v. kidde.*
kynde, nature, 157; OE. gecynd.
kynge, 98, 156; OE. cýning.
kynned, *pt. 3 s.* was born, 209; OE. cennan.
kynnes, classes, 63; OE. cynn.
kyrke, church, 113; *pl.* **kyrkæs**, 16; ON. kirkja.
lacche, *inf.* get, 316; OE. læccan.

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- laddes, serving-men, 61; *cp.*
 Dan. aske-ladd, youngest son in
 a fairy-tale.
 lady, 21; OE. hlāfdīge.
 laftes, *pt.* 2 s., leftest, 292; *pl.*
 laften, 61; OE. læfan.
 laghe, faith, 34, 203; law, 245;
 lawe, 216; *pl.* laghes, 287;
 lawes, 268; OE. lagu.
 laide, *v.* lay.
 la[i]tid, *pp.* searched, 155; ON.
 leita.
 lake, 302, pit; OF. lac; L. lacus.
 lant, *v.* lene.
 1[app]id, involved, 205 (*see Note*);
 OE. lappa, *n.*
 large, 72; OF. large.
 lasse, *v.* litelle.
 lasshit, *pt.* 3 s. darted quickly,
 334; *cp.* NED. under 'lash'.
 last, *inf.* 264, 272; *pt.* 3 s. lastydf,
 215; OE. læstan.
 later, latter, 136; OE. lætra.
 lathe, *pr.* 3 s. *subj.* invite, 308;
 OE. laðian.
 lauande, *pr. p.* flowing, 314; OE.
 lafian.
 lawe, *v.* laghe.
 lay(1), *inf.* 67; *pt. pl.* laide, 72;
 pp. layde, 149; OE. lecgan.
 lay (2), layn, *v.* lye.
 layne, *imp. s.* conceal, 179; ON.
 lþyna.
 lede, man, 146, 200; OE. lēod.
 lege, liege; 1. men, vassals, 224;
 OF. lige.
 lely, faithfully, 268; OF. leel +
 ly.
 leme, *n.* light, 334; OE. lēoma.
 lene, *pr. 3 s. subj.* grant, 315; *pp.*
 lant, 272; lent, 192; OE.
 lēnan.
 lenger, *v.* longe.
 lengthe, 205; OE. lengðu.
 lengyd, *pt. 3 s.* lay, 68; OE.
 lengan.
 lepen, *pt. pl.* leapt, 61; OE.
 bléapan.
- lere, *v.* lire.
 leste, *v.* litelle.
 lethe, *inf.* cease, 347; eME. leð, *n.*
 lettes, *pr.* 3 s. hinders, 165; OE.
 lettan.
 lettres, 51, 111; OF. lettre.
 leue (1), permission, 316; OE.
 lēaf.
 leue (2), *inf.* believe, 175; *pr.*
 1 *pl.* leuen, 183; 2 *pl.* leues,
 176; OE. læfan.
 leuyd, *v.* lyuye.
 librairie, 155; F. librairie.
 liche, body, 314; lyche, 146;
 OE. lic.
 lidde, 67; lydde, 72; OE. hlid;
 cp. eghe-lyddes.
 lies, ligges, *v.* lye.
 life, 224, 347; lyfe, 150, 315;
 lyue, 236; OE. lif.
 lighten, *pt. 3 pl.* fell, 322; OE.
 līhtan.
 liȝtly, quickly; OE. lēohtlice.
 Limbo, the abode of the just who
 died before Christ's coming,
 292; *abl.* of L. limbus, border.
 lippes, 91; OE. lippa.
 lire, flesh, 149; lere, 95; OE. lira.
 listonde, *pt. pl.* listened, 219;
 ONorth. lysna.
 litelle, *n.* 160, 190; *adv.* 165,
 348; *comp. adj.* lasse, 247; *adv.*
 104, 320; *sup. adj.* leste, 162;
 OE. lÿtel.
 lo, *interj.* 146; OE. lā.
 lodely, horrible, 328; OE. lāðlic.
 loffyngē, *pr. p.* praising, 292; *pp.*
 louyd, 288, 324; ON. lofa; *cp.*
 louynge.
 loghe, *adv.* low, 334; ON. *adj.*
 lägr; *cp. on-loghe.*
 loke, *inf.* consider, 157; ex-
 amine, 68; *pt. 3 s.* lokyd, looked,
 313; OE. lōcian.
 loken, *pp.* enclosed, 147; OE.
 lūcan.
 lome, chest, 68, 149; OE. ge-
 lōma, utensil.

GLOSSARY

- londe**, land, 200, 224; *pl.* **londes**, 30; OE. land.
- London**, 1, 25, 34.
- longe**, *adj.* 1; *vpon* 1., at last, 175; *adv.* 95, 157; *comp.* **len-**
ger, 179, 319; OE. lang.
- longen**, *pr. pl.* pertain, 268; *cp.* OE. gelang, dependent on.
- lord**, 288, 315; **lorde**, 134, 280; *pl.* **lordes**, 138, 146; OE. hlaford.
- lore**, science, 264; OE. lär.
- louse**, *inf.* loose, 165; *pt. 3 s.* loused, 178; ON. lauss, *adj.*
- loue**, dear, beloved, 34; OE. leof; ON. liüfr.
- loues**, *pr. 3 s.* loves, 268, 278; OE. lufian.
- loves**, hands, 349; ON. löfi.
- louyd**, *v.* loffynge.
- louyng**, *verbal n.* praising, 349; ON. lofa, *v.*; *cp.* loffynge.
- lures**, lourings, glooms, dark-
nesses, 328; (?) *cp.* OE. lürlian.
- luste**, *pt. impers.* it pleased, 162;
OE. lystan.
- lyche**, *v.* liche.
- lydde**, *v.* lidde.
- lye**, *inf.* 264; *pr. 2 s.* ligges, 186;
lies, 179; *3 s.* lyes, 99; *pt. 3 s.* lay, 281, 314; lyggid, 76; *pp.* layne, 95; layn, 147; OE. liegan.
- lyfe**, *v.* life.
- lyf[ly]**, living, 192; OE. liflic.
- lyftande**, *pr. p.* lifting, 178; ON. lypta.
- lyggid**, *v.* lye.
- lyinge**, *verb. n.* 205; OE. liegan
+ -ung.
- lykhame**, body, 179; OE. lich-
ama.
- lym**, limb, 224; OE. lim.
- lyue**, *v.* life.
- lyuye**, *inf.* live, 298; *pp.* leuyd,
328; OE. lifian.
- macers**, mace-bearers, 143; OF.
maissier.
- made, *v.* make.
- maghty**, mighty, 27; **mazti**, 143;
maȝty, 283; **myȝty**, 175; OE.
meahtig, mihtig.
- Mahon**, Mohammed, 20.
- maire**, mayor, 65, 143; OF. maire.
- make**, *inf.* 206, 238; *pp.* made,
39, 50; **makyd**, 128; OE. macian.
- maker**, 283; OE. macian + -er.
- malte**, *inf.* melt, 158; OE. meltan.
- manas**, threat, 240; OF. manace.
- mannerly**, decorously, 131; OF.
maniere + -ly.
- maners**, habits, 60; OF. maniere.
- mantel**, 81, 250; OF. mantel.
- marbre**, marble, 48, 50; OF.
marbre.
- marcialle**, marshal, an officer
who arranged the places of the
guests at a banquet, 337; OF.
mareschal.
- Margrete**, 20.
- martilage**, necrology, 154; med.
L. martilogium.
- mason**, 39; OF. masson.
- masse**, 129, 131; OE. mæsse.
- matens**, the service preceding
mass, 128; OF. matines.
- matyd**, *pp.* baffled, 163; OF.
mater, from mat, mated at chess,
Pers. māt.
- Maudelayne**, 20.
- may**, *pr. 3 s.* 151; *pl.* 175; *pt. 1 s.* myȝt, 316; *3 s.* 94; *pl.* 74; OE.
mæg.
- mayster-mon**, chief, ruler, 201;
OE. mægester; OF. meister;
OE. mann.
- mayster-ton**, chief town, 26; OE.
tūn.
- maystrie**, power, 234; OF. mais-
trie.
- me**, *v. I.*
- meche**, much, 220, 350; large, 81;
comp. **more**, greater, 247; more,
341; **mo**, 210; *comp. adv.* **more**,
104; *sup. adv.* **moste**, 269; OE.
mycel.

- mecul, great, 27, 286; ON. mykell.
- mede, reward, 234; medes, good deeds, 270; OE. mēd.
- medecyn, remedy, 298; OF. medecine.
- meeles, meals, 307; OE. māl.
- mekest, *sup.* 250; ON. mjūkr.
- mellyd, *pp.* mingled, 350; OF. meller.
- memorie, 158; memorial, 44; OF. memorie.
- men, *v.* mon.
- mendyá, *pp.* 298; AF. mender.
- mene, *inf.* mean, 54; remember, 151; OE. mānan.
- menske, honour, 337; ON. mennska.
- menskefully, nobly, 50; ON. mennska + -fully.
- menskes, *pr. 3 s.* honours, 269; *pt. pl.* menskid, 258; ON. mennska, *n.*
- menyd, *pt. pl.* lamented, 247; OE. mānan.
- menyuier, a kind of fur used for linings, 81; OF. menu vair.
- merciles, deprived of mercy, 300; OF. merci + -less.
- mercy, 284, 286; OF. merci.
- mere, mare, 114; OE. mere.
- meritorie, praiseworthy, 270; OF. meritoire.
- merkid, *pp.* marked, 154; OE. mearcian.
- meruayle, wonder, 43, 158; meruaile, 160; OF. merveille.
- mery, *adj.* 39; OE. myrige.
- meschefe, injury, 240; OF. meschef.
- mesters-mon, craftsman, 60; OF. mestier; OE. mann.
- mesure, limit, 286; OF. mesure.
- metely, fitly, 50; OE. (ge)māete + -ly.
- metropol, chief town, 26; OF. metropole.
- mette, *pt. 3 s.* 337; *pl.* metten, 114; OE. mētan.
- meynye, retinue, 65; OF. meyné.
- ministres, attendants, 131; OF. ministre.
- mo, *v.* meche.
- moder, mother, 325; OE. mōdor.
- moght-freten, moth-eaten, 86; OE. moðße, mohße, fretan.
- molde, earth, 270; *pl.* moldes, 343; OE. molde.
- mon, 4, 206; *gen. s.* monnes, 163, 240; *pl.* men, 58, 283; OE. mann.
- monlokest, most humane, 250; OE. mann + ly.
- mony, many, 11, 153, 220; mony a, 39, 79; mony one, 214; OE. manig.
- more, moste, *v.* meche.
- morowen, morning, 306; OE. morgen.
- motes, spots, 86; OE. mot.
- moulynge, *verb. n.* mould, 86; *cp.* Olcel. myglæ.
- mountes, *pr. 3 s.* amounts, 160; OF. munter.
- mournynge, *n.* 350; OE. murnung.
- mouthe, *inf.* declare, 54; *m[ut]he*, 206 (*see Note*); OE. mūþ, *n.*
- m[u]kkyd*, *pt. pl.* shovelled, 43; ON. moka.
- murthe, *v.* myrthe.
- muset, *pt. pl.* were at a loss, 54; OF. muser.
- m[ut]he*, *v.* mouthe.
- my, *v.* myn.
- mydelle, 80; OE. middel.
- myȝt(1), might, 163; *pl.* myȝtes, 162; myghtes, 283; OE. miht.
- myȝt(2), *v.* may.
- myȝty, *v.* maghthy, 175.
- myn, my, 194, 235; my, 123, 330; OE. min.
- mynde, memorial, 154; mental powers, 163; memory, 151; my[n]de, 97; OE. gemynd.

GLOSSARY

- mynnyd**, *pt.* 3 *s.* mentioned, 104 ;
ON. minna.
- mynnynge**, remembrance, 269 ;
ON. minna + -ing.
- mynster**, temple, 27 ; cathedral,
35 ; OE. mynster.
- mynster-dores**, the cathedral
doors, 128 ; OE. duru.
- mynte**, *pt.* 3 *s.* pointed out, 145 ;
OE. myntan.
- mynyd**, *pt. pl.* dug, 43 ; OF.
miner.
- myrthe**, 350 ; murthe, 335 ; OE.
myrgþ.
- myselfe**, 300 ; OE. mē self.
- myste**, *pp.* 300 ; OE. missan.
- mysterie**, *n.* 125 ; OF. mistere ;
AF. *misterie.
- na[i]tyd**, *pp.* repeated, 119 ; ON.
neyta, to use.
- nakyde**, *adj.* 89 ; OE. nacod.
- name**, 28, 195 ; nome, 152, 318 ;
pl. nomes, 18 ; OE. nama.
- nas** = ne was, 285 ; OE. ne wæs ;
cp. be.
- Nay**, 265 ; ON. nei.
- Ne**, nor, 104, 218 ; OE. ne.
- neghe**, *adv.* nearly, 119 ; OE. nēah,
nēh.
- neuenyd**, *pp.* named, 25, 195 ;
ON. nefna.
- neuer**, *adv.* 72, 156 ; OE. nāfre.
- new**, *adj.* 24 ; *adv.* anew, 6 ; newe,
14 ; OE. nēowe.
- no**, *adj.* 199, 312 ; *adv.* 179 ; *n[ō]*,
293 ; OE. nān.
- noble**, 38, 227 ; OF. noble.
- noȝt**, nothing, 56, 208 ; noght,
101 ; *adv.* 261 ; noȝt, 1 ; not,
319 ; OE. nōwīht.
- noice**, noise, 218 ; noyce, 62 ;
OF. noise.
- nombre**, number, 206, 289 ; OF.
nombre.
- nome**, *v.* name.
- non**, by no means, 157 ; OE. nān,
adj.
- none**, none, 101 ; non, 289 ; OE.
nān.
- nones**, nonce, 38 ; for þe n.=for
þen ones ; OE. for ðām, ānes.
- not**, *v.* noȝt.
- note**, labour, 101 ; occupation,
152 ; piece of work, 38 ; OE.
notu.
- notes**, 133 ; OF. note.
- nothyre**, *v.* noþer.
- notyde**, *pp.* written, 103 ; OF.
noter.
- noþer**, neither, 102, 152 ; nothyre,
199 ; OE. ne + oðer.
- nourne**, *inf.* tell, 101, 152 ; *pp.*
nournet, adjured, 195 ; origin
unknown.
- now**, 19, 325 ; OE. nū.
- noy**, trouble, 289 ; OF. anoi.
- noyce**, *v.* noice.
- nyȝt**, night, 119 ; OE. niht.
- of**, 19 ; away from, 167 ; OE. of.
- oft**, 135, 232 ; OE. oft.
- o-lofte**, *v.* on-lofte.
- on**, *prep.* 2, 331 ; at, 42 ; one, in,
152 ; OE. on.
- one**, *adj.* 156, 319 ; with superla-
tive, 198 ; OE. ān.
- ones**, once, 352 ; OE. ānes.
- one-vnder**, underneath, 70 ; OE.
on + under.
- on-lofte**, *adv.* above, 81 ; *prep.*
o-lofte, 49 ; ON. ā lopti.
- on-loghe**, *adv.* low, 147 ; OE. on
+ ON. lāgr.
- openly**, 90 ; OE. openlice.
- opon**, open, 128 ; OE. open.
- opon**, *v.* vpon.
- or**, *v.* oþer (2).
- oþer** (1), *adj.* 346 ; *pron.* 93 ; *pl.*
othire, 32, 59 ; OE. oðer.
- oþer** (2), or, 20, 188 ; oþir, 86 ;
oþer...oþer, either...or, 86 ;
or, 121 ; OE. oððe ; superseded
by eME. oðer as conj.
- oure**, 21, 294 ; OE. ūre.
- oure-selfe**, 170 ; OE. ūre + self.

- oute, 9, 167; owt, 17; owte,
 191; OE. *ūt*.
 ouer-drofe, *pt.* 3 *s.* passed, 117;
 OE. *oferdrīfan*.
 oye[r], court of Oyer et Deter-
 miner, 211 (*see Note*); AF. *oyer*;
 OF. *oir*.
- palais, palace, 115; OF. *palais*.
 Paradis, 161; OF. *paradis*.
 parage, noble lineage, 203; OF.
parage.
 partyd, *pp.* 107; OF. *partir*.
 passide, *pt.* 3 *s.* 138; *passyde*, surpassed,
pl. 351; *pp.* *passyde*, surpassed,
 163; OF. *passer*.
 Paule, 113; *gen.* 35.
 Payne, torment, 333; OF. *peine*.
 payntyde, *pp.* 75; OF. *peindre*,
pr. 3 *s.*, *pp.* *peint*.
 paynym, heathen, 285; *gen. pl.*
 paynymes, 203; OF. *paienime*.
 pepul, people, 10, 296; *pepullé*,
 351; OF. *pueple*.
 perle, pearl, 79; OF. *perle*.
 peruertyd, *pt.* *pl.* turned from
 the faith, 10; OF. *pervertir*.
 pes, peace, 115; OF. *pais*.
 Petre, 19.
 picchit, *pp.* set, 79; OE. **piccan*.
 pinchid, *pt.* *pl.* moved (the lid)
 with levers, 70; OF. *pincier*;
 ONF. **pinchier*; *cp.* mod. Norm.
pincher.
 place, 10, 144; OF. *place*.
 planede, *pp.* smoothed, 50; OF.
planer.
 plantyd, *pt.* 3 *s.* 13; OE. *plantian*.
 playn, *adj. used as n.*, level floor
 of the church, 138; OF. *plain*.
 plied, *pt.* *pl.* betook themselves,
 138; OF. (a) *plier*.
 plite, nature, 285; AF. *plit*, con-
 dition.
 plystles, blameless, 296; OE.
pliht.
 pontificals, episcopal robes, 130;
 F. *pontifical*; L. *pontificālis*.
- pope, 12; OE. *pāpa*.
 porer, poorer, 153; OF. *povre* +
 -er.
 powdere, 344; OF. *poudre*.
 power, 228; OF. *poēr*.
 poysned, *pp.* 296; OF. *poisonner*.
 praysid, *pp.* 29; OF. *preisier*.
 prece, crowd, 141; OF. *presse*.
 prechyd, *pt.* 3 *s.* 13; OF. *prechier*.
 precious, 79; OF. *precios*.
 prelacie, clerical attendants, 107;
 AF. *prelacie*.
 prelate, 130, 138; OF. *prelat*.
 prestly, speedily, 130; OF. *prest*;
cp. *vnpreste*.
 primate, bishop, 107; OF. *primat*.
 prince, 161, 203; OF. *prince*.
 prises, levers, 70; OF. *prise*.
 procession, 351; OF. *procession*.
 prouidens, providence, 161; OF.
 providence.
 psalmyde, *pp.* written in the form
 of psalms; OE. *psealm*; L.
psalmus.
 pure, 13; OF. *pur*.
 putten, *pt.* 3 *pl.* put, 70; *pp.*
 putte, 153, 228; OE. *putian*.
 pyne, punishment, 188; trouble,
 141; *cp.* OE. *pīnian*, to tor-
 ment; L. *pena*.
- quat, *rel. pron.* what, 68, 94;
interv. 301; OE. *hwæt*.
 quaynt, elaborate, 133; OF.
cointe; *cp.* *quontyse*.
 quen, when, 65, 291; OE. *hwænne*.
 quemē, pleasing, 133; OE. *ge-
 wēme*.
 quere (1), choir, 133; OF. *cuer*.
 quere (2), where, 274, 279; OE.
hwær.
 questis, bursts of song, 133;
literally, cry of hunting dogs
 when in sight of game; OF.
queste.
 queþer, whether, 188; neverthe-
 less, 153; OE. *hweðere*.
 quil, while, 217; OE. *hwil*, *n.*

GLOSSARY

- quile, time, 105; OE. *hwil*.
quontyse, marvel, 74; OF. coin-tise, *cp. quaynt*.
quoþ, *pt. 3 s.* said, 146, 265; OE. *cweþan*.
quy, why, 186, 222; OE. *hwȳ*.
qwo, who, 185; **quo**, 197; OE. *hwā*.
radly, quickly, 62; OE. *hrædlice*.
raȝt, *pt. 3 s.* gave, 280, 338; *pl.*
 raght, 256; OE. *ræcan*.
ratteſ, rags, 260; *derivation unknown*.
rayked, *pt. 3 s.* went, 139; ON.
reika.
reame, realm, 11, 185; OF.
reaume.
rede, red, 91; OE. *rēad*.
redeles, destitute of counsel, 164;
 OE. *rædlēas*.
redes, *pr. 3 s.* governs; OE.
rādan.
redy, expert, 245; OE. (*ge*)*rāde*
 + *y*.
refetyd, *pp.* refreshed, 304; OF.
refaitier.
regne, kingdom, 212; OF. *regne*.
regnyd, *pt. 3 s.* reigned, 151; OF.
regner.
reken, upright, 245; **rekenest**,
 noblest, 135; OE. *recen*.
relefe, relief, 328; OF. relief.
remewit, *pt. 1 s.* deviated, 235;
 OF. *remuer*.
renaide, *pp.* apostate, 11; OF.
reneier, to renounce.
renke, man, 289; *pl.* **renkes**, 271;
 OE. *rine*.
repairen, *pr. pl.* go, 135; OF.
repairer.
reson, reason, 267; *by r. myn*
 awen, by my own will, 235;
resones, sentences, 52; OF.
reisun.
restorment, restoration, 280;
 OF. *restoremēt*.
reule, *inf.* rule, 231; *pt. 3 s.*
rewlit, 212; OF. *reuler*.
reuele, *inf.* reveal, 121; OF.
reveler.
reuerens, respect, 239; *reue-*
rence, 338; OF. reverence.
reuestid, *pp.* robed, 139; OF.
revestir.
rewardes, *pr. 3 s.* rewards, 275;
pt. 1 s. *rewardid*, regarded,
 256; ONF. *rewarder*.
rialle, royal, 77; OF. *rial*.
riche, wealthy, 239; noble, 77,
 212, 267; *adv.* 139; OE. *rice*.
richely, 304; OE. *rice* + *ly*.
riȝt (1), justice, 271; right, 304;
ryȝt, 272; *pl.* **riȝtes**, 269; OE.
riht.
riȝt (2), *adv.* rightly, 256; *ryȝt*,
 just, 332; OE. *riht*.
rises, *pr. 3 s.* 344; OE. *rīsan*.
rode (1), rood, 290; OE. *rōd*.
rode (2), red colour, 91; OE. *rudu*.
ronge, *v.* **ryngande**.
ronke, numerous, 11, 262; abun-dant, 91; OE. *ranc*.
ronnen, *pt. pl.* ran, 62; OE.
rinnan.
rose, *n.* 91; OE. rose.
rote, *n.* rot, 262; ON. *rot*.
rotēn, rotten, 344; ON. *rotinn*.
rotid, *pp.* rotted, 260; OE. *rotian*.
rottok, a decayed thing, 344 (*see*
Note); *derivation unknown*.
route, crowd, 62; OF. *route*.
routhe, pity, 240; OE. *hrēow* +
 -th.
row, 52; OE. *rāw*.
rowme, place, 338; OE. *rūm*.
roynyshe, strange, uncouth, 52
 (*see Note*).
ryȝt, *v.* **riȝt**.
ryȝtwis, righteous, 245; OE.
rihtwis.
ryne, *inf.* touch, 262; OE. *hrīnan*.
ryngande, *pr. p.* resounding, 62;
pt. 3 s. **ronge**, rang, 117; OE.
ringan.
sacrifices, 30; OF. sacrifice.

SAINT ERKENWALD

- sacryd**, *pp.* consecrated, 3 ;
 sacrid, 159 ; OF. sacer.
sadde, grave, 324 ; OE. sæd.
sake, 239 ; OE. sauca.
same, 204 ; ON. same.
Sandewiche, 12.
Sathanas, 24 ; OF. Sathanas ; L.
 Satanās.
saule, *v. soule*.
Sauyoure, Saviour, 324 ; OF.
 sauvēour.
sawe, speech, 184 ; OE. sagu.
Saxon, *adj.* 30 ; *n. pl.* **Saxones**,
 8 ; *gen.* 24.
say, *inf.* 100 ; *imp. s.* 279 ; *pr. 2 s.*
 says, 159 ; 3 s. 277 ; *pt. 3 s.* ;
 sayd, 273 ; **sayde**, 122 ; *pp.* 136,
 189 ; OE. secgan.
sayd, weighty, important, 202 ;
 OE. sæd.
saynt, 4, 113 ; *pl.* **sayntes**, 17 ;
 OF. saint.
sayntuare, holy place, 66 ; OF.
 saintuaire.
shedde, *v. sheddes*.
schewyde, *v. shewid*.
se, *inf. see*, 293 ; *pr. pl.* 170 ; 3 s.
subj. 308 ; *pp.* **sene**, 100 ; OE.
 sēon.
seche, *inf. seek*, 170 ; explore, 41 ;
 OE. sēcan.
sege, *n. see*, 35 ; OF. sege.
segge, man, 159, 189 ; OE. secg.
sele, bliss, 279 ; OE. sael.
selfe, 197 ; OE. self.
semely, fitting, noble, 84 ; *adv.*
 semely, 35 ; ON. sāmligr.
semes, *pr. 3 s.* seems, 98 ; ON.
 sāma.
sende, *inf.* 172 ; *pt. 3 s.* 111 ; *pp.*
 8, 12 ; OE. sendan.
sene, *v. se*.
septre, sceptre, 223, 256 ; *sep-*
ture, 84 ; OF. sceptre.
Ser, sir, 108, 213 ; OF. sire.
seruice, 136 ; OF. service.
seruyd, *pp.* deserved, 275 ; *aphetic*
form of OF. deservir.
- sesyd**, established, 345 ; OF. seisir.
sette, *pp.* 232 ; **sett**, 84 ; appointed,
 dedicated, 21, 24 ; OE. settan.
seuen, seven, 155 ; OE. seofon.
sewide, *pt. 3 s.* followed, 204 ;
 OF. suir.
sextene, sexton, 66 ; F. sacristain.
shal, *pr. 1 s.* 174 ; 3 s. **shalle**, 347 ;
pt. 3 s. shulde, 54, 255 ; shuld,
 42 ; OE. sceal.
shapen, *v. shope*.
sheddes, *pt. 2 s.* 328 ; 3 s. **shedde**,
 182 ; OE. scēadan.
shewid, *pt. pl.* appeared, 90 ; *pp.*
schewyde, shown, 180 ; OE.
 scēawian.
shope, *pt. 3 s.* prepared, 129 ; *pp.*
 shapen, made, 88 ; OE. scieppan.
shuld, *v. shal*.
sike, *inf. sigh*, 305 ; *pt. 3 s.* syked,
 323 ; *pp.* 189 ; OE. sīcan.
sithen, since, 185 ; sythen, 180 ;
 after, 2 ; longe sythen, long
 ago, 260 ; OE. siðean.
sitte, *inf.* 305 ; **sytte vpon**, pre-
 side over, 202 ; *pr. 3 s.* sittes,
 293 ; syttes, 35 ; OE. sittan.
skelton, *pr. pl.* ascend, 278 ;
see Note.
skilfulle, following reason, righteous,
 278 ; ON. skil + full.
slekkyd, *pt. 3 s.* allayed, 331 ;
 Norw. slekkja ; OE. sleccan.
slent, sprinkling, 331 ; ON. sletta,
 to dash ; Sw. slinta, to slip.
slape, sleep, 92 ; OE. slæp.
slippide, *pp.* 92 ; *cp. MLG.* slippen.
slode, *pt. 3 s.* fell, 331 ; OE. slīdan.
so, 23, 303 ; OE. swā.
sodanly, suddenly, 92 ; **sodenly**,
 342 ; OF. soudain + ly.
solemply, with due ceremony,
 129, 336 ; OF. solempne + ly.
solempne, sacred, 303 ; *sup.*
solempnest, religiously most
 important, 30 ; OF. solempne.
sone, soon, 345 ; forthwith, 72 ;
 OE. sōna.

GLOSSARY

- songen**, *v.* synge.
sonne, sun, 21; OE. sunna.
soper, supper, 303, 332; OF. soper.
scrow, 305; **sorowe**, 309, 327; OE. sorg.
sothe, *adj.* true, 277; *n.* truth, 170, 197; **soþe**, 159; OE. sōþ.
soule, 279, 328; **saula**, 273; OE. sāwol.
soun, *n.* sound, voice, 324; **sowne**, 341; AF. soun; OF. son.
sounde, health, 92; OE. gesund, *adj.*
soupen, *pr. pl.* sup, 336; OF. souper.
souerayn, lord, 120; OF. sovereign.
sowne, *v.* soun.
space, 93, 312; OF. espace.
spake, *v.* speke.
spakly, continuously, 312; quickly, 335; ON. spakliga.
speche, 152; OE. sprāc; IOE. spāc.
spede, profit, 132; OE. spēd.
spedeles, unavailing, 93; OE. spēd + less.
speke, *inf.* 312; *pt. 3 s.* spake, 217; OE. sprecan; IOE. specan.
spe[k]e, a canopied tomb, 49 (*see Note*); L. specus.
spelunke, coffin, 49, 217; OF. spelunque; L. spelunca, cave.
spiritus, spirit, 132.
spradde, *pt. 3 s.* opened out, 49; OE. sprādan.
sprange, *pt. 3 s.* 217; OE. springan.
sprent, *pt. 3 s.* sprang, 335; ON. *sprenta, spretta.
spyrl, *inf.* ask, 93; OE. spyrian.
spyrit, 335; AF. spirit; OF. esperit.
stablyde, *pp.* established, 2; stablid, 274; OF. establier.
stadde, *pp.* placed, 274; ON. staddr.
stille, 219; OE. stille.
ston, stone, 47, 219; *pl.* stones, 40; OE. stān.
stondes, *pr. 3 s.* stands, 164; *pt. pl.* stoden, 52, 219; *pt. 3 s. subj.* stode, 97; OE. standan.
stoundes, hours, 288; OE. stund.
strange, 74; OF. estrange.
strezt, strictly, 274; OE. streht, *pp. of* streccan, to stretch.
suche, suche a, 97, 146; *pl.* suche, 178; OE. swylc.
suffrider, *pt. 3 s.* suffered, 2; OF. suffrir.
summe, some, 100, 276; OE. sum.
sutile, subtle, 132; OF. soutil.
swarues, *pr. 3 s.* swerves, 167; OE. sworfan.
swete, 120, 342; OE. swēte.
swyndid, *pt. 3 s.* vanished, 342; OE. swindan.
syked, *v.* sike.
synagogue, 21; OF. sinagoge.
syngre, *inf.* 129; *pp.* songen, 128; OE. singan.
sythen, *v.* sithen.
sytte, *v.* sitte.
table, 332; OF. table; OE. tabule.
take, *inf.* accept, 168; *pt. 3 s.* toke, took, 313; *pl.* token, took their way, 57; t[ō]ke in, swallowed, 297; ON. taka.
tale, 102, 109; OE. talu.
talent, desire, 176; OF. talent.
talkes, *pr. 3 s.* 177; *cp.* EFr. talken.
teche, blemish, 85; te[c]he, fault, 297; OF. teche.
teches, *pr. 3 s.* 34; OE. tæcan.
telle, *inf.* 114; *pt. 1 s.* tolde, 36; *pl.* tolden, 109; *pp.* tolde of, called, 31; OE. tellan.
temple, 5, 28; *pl.* temples, 15; OE. templ; OF. temple.
temyd, *pt. pl.* belonged, 15; OE. tieman.
tene, woe, 331; OE. tēona.

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- teres, *pl.* tears, 314, 322; OE. tēar.
 thar, *pr. 3 s.* dare, 262; OE. þearf.
 the, *v.* þe, þou.
 thenke, *pr. 1 s.* intend, 224; OE.
 jencan.
 ther, *v.* þer.
 thi, *v.* þin.
 this, *v.* þis.
 thrid, third, 31; OE. þridda.
 thurghe, *v.* þurhge.
 threnen, three times, 210; *cp.*
 ON. þrennr.
 throghe, coffin, 47; OE. þrūh.
 thryuandly, excellently, 47; ON.
 þrifask, to thrive.
 thykke, 47; OE. þicce.
 thynkes, *pr. impers.* it seems, 259;
 OE. þyncean.
 till, until, 136; til, 12, 313;
 ON. til.
 tithynges, tidings, 57; ON.
 tiðindi.
 title, 28; inscription, 102; OF. title.
 to, 6, 15; OE. tō.
 to-geder, 228, 350; OE. tōgædere.
 token, sign, 102; OE. tācn.
 t[ō]ke, token, *v.* take.
 to-knowe, *inf.* understand, 74;
 OE. tōcnāwan; *cp.* know, vn-
 knawen.
 tolde, *v.* telle.
 toles, tools, 40; OE. tōl.
 tome, interval, 313; ON. tōm.
 ton, *v.* toun.
 to-rent, *pp.* shattered, 164; OE.
 torendan.
 tounbe, tomb, 46, 313; AF.
 tumbe; OF. tombe.
 tounbe-wonder, marvel of the
 tomb, 57; AF. tumbe; OE.
 wundor.
 toun, town, 229; ton, 5, 57; OE.
 tūn.
 towarde, in comparison with,
 161; OE. tōweard.
 trew, true, 336; OE. trēow.
 Triapolitan, 36; Triapolitanes,
 31; *cp.* Preface, p. xxiii.
- trillyd, trickled, 322; *cp.* Dan.
 trille, Sw. trilla.
 Troie, 25, 211, 251; Troye, 255.
 tronyd, *pp.* enthroned, 255; OF.
 trone, *n.*
 troubulle, unrest, 109; OF. truble.
 trouthe, 13, 184; OE. trēowþ.
 trowid, *pt. 3 s.* believed, 204; *pl.*
 255; OE. trūwian.
 tulkes, men, 109; ON. tūlkr.
 turns, *pr. 3 s.* 177; *pt. 3 s.* turnyd,
 changed, 15; OE. turnian; OF.
 turner.
 twayne, two, 32; OE. twēgen.
 two, 91; OE. twā.
 tymē, 5, 284; OE. tīma.
- þagbe, though, 122, 243; þof, 320;
 OE. þāh.
 þai, they, 9, 43; *dat.* hom, 260;
 acc. 53, 282; ON. þeir.
 þat, *adj. dem. 3;* *pron. dem.* 69,
 300; *pron. rel.* 10; that which,
 19; OE. ðæt.
 þe, *def. art. 5;* the, 34; 1OE. ðe.
 þen (1), then, 11, 118; OE. ðænne.
 þen (2), than, 270; OE. þenne.
 þer, *adv. dem.* there, 39, 138;
 ther, 3, 94; *pron. rel.* þer, where,
 53, 306, 314; OE. ðær.
 þer-after, 189; OE. ðær æfter.
 þere-as, where, 167; OE. ðær,
 eall swā.
 þerinne, 27; OE. ðærinne.
 þerof, 339; OE. ðær of.
 þer-on, 79; OE. ðæron.
 þer-oute, 291; OE. ðærüt.
 þer-tille, thereto, 69; OE. ðær;
 ON. til.
 þer-to, 59; OE. ðærtō.
 þes, *v.* þis.
 þi, *v.* þin.
 þider, thither, 58, 135; OE. ðider.
 þiderwarde, 112; OE. ðider-
 ward.
 þiderwardes, 61; OE. ðider-
 ward + -es.

GLOSSARY

- þin**, thy, 330; **þi**, 284; **thi**, 283,
 290; OE. *þin*.
þis, 33; **this**, 11; **pl. þes**, 317;
 OE. *þis*.
þi-selwen, thyself, 185; OE. *þe*
 selfum.
þof, *v.* **þaghe**.
þou, 159; **þow**, 186; **dat. the**,
 276; **acc. 326**; **þe**, 318; OE. *þu*.
þousande, 210; OE. *þusend*.
[þrel], three, 210; OE. *þrēo*.
þritty, thirty, 210; OE. *þritig*.
þurhge, by means of, 192;
 thurghe, through, 123; OE.
þurh.
þus, 96, 186; OE. *þus*.
- vche**, each, 204; **vche a**, 275,
 348; OE. *yle*; *cp. vschon*.
vghten, dawn, 118; OE. on
ūhtan.
vnchaungit, 95; un-+OF.
 changer.
vnclosid, *pt. pl.* 140; un-+OF.
 clos., *stem of clore*.
vnder, 203, 227; OE. under.
vnhapnest, most unfortunate,
 198; un-+ON. heppinn.
vnkawen, unknown, 147; un-
 +OE. *cnāwen*; *cp. know*, to-
 knowe.
vn louke, *inf.* unlock, 67, 162;
 OE. *unlūcan*.
vnpreste, dull, ignorant, 285;
 un-+OF. prest; *cp. prestly*.
vnsaȝt, warlike, 8; un-+OE.
sæht.
vnskathely, innocent, 278; un-
 +ON. *skaðe*, harm + -ly.
vnsparid, unstinted, 335; un-+
 OE. sparian.
vnwemmyd, unspotted, 96, 266;
 OE. unwemmed.
vnworthi, 122; un-+OE. *wyrðig*.
vp, *adv.* 118; OE. up.
vp-halden, *pp.* uplifted, 349;
 OE. up *healdan*.
- vpon**, 290, 317; **vpon longe**, at
 length, 175; **opon**, 76, 125;
opon slepe, 92; OE. *uppe on*.
vs, v. we.
vschon, each one, 93; OE. *ylc*
ān; *cp. vche*.
vsen, *pr. 3 pl.* practise, 270; *pt.*
 2s. *vsy়t*, 187; 3s. 200; OF. user.
vayles, *pr. 3 s.* avails, 348; OF.
vail-, *stem of valoir*.
vayne-glorie, 348; *cp. OF. vaine*
 gloire.
vray, true, plain, 53; OF. *verai*.
vrayly, truly, 174; OF. *verai*
 + -ly.
vertue, 286; *pl. vertues*, 174;
 OF. *vertu*.
vigures, characters, 53; OF.
 figure.
visite, *inf.* make a visitation at,
 108; OF. *visiter*.
vouche-safe, *inf.* 121; OF.
 voucher, sauf.
- waggyd**, *pt. 3 s.* shook, 281; *cp.*
 MSwed. *wagga*.
wakenyd, *pt. 3 s.* arose, 218; OE.
wæenan.
wale, choice, to w., in abundance,
 73; ON. *val*.
Wales, 9.
walon, *pp.* collected, 64; *cp. ON.*
valinn, *pp. of velja*.
wan, *pt. pl.* won, 301; OE.
winnan.
warpyd, *pt. 3 s.* uttered, 321; ON.
varpa.
was, *v. be*.
water, 316, 333; OE. *wæter*.
we, 301; **dat. vs**, 294; **acc. 333**;
 OE. *wē*.
wede, clothing, 96; *pl. wedes*,
 77, 85; OE. *wæd*.
weghe, man, 96; *pl. wehes*, 73;
 OE. *wiga*.
weldes, *pr. 3 s.* rules, 161; OE.
wealdan.

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- wele** (1), prosperity, 233; OE.
 wela.
wele (2), *wel*, *v. gode*.
wele-dede, good conduct, 301;
 OE. *wel-dēd*.
wemles, spotless, 85; OE. *wem-*
 man, *v.*
wenten, *pt. pl.* 69; OE. *wendan*.
wepande, *pr. p.* 122; *pt. pl.*
 wepid, 220; *wepyd*, 310; OE.
 wēpan.
were, *v. be*.
weres, *pr. 2 s.* wearest, 222; OE.
werian.
werke, work, 38; OE. *weorc*.
werke-men, *pl.* 69; OE. *weorc-*
 mann.
werpe, *pt. 2 s.* utteredst, 329;
 OE. *weorpan*.
werre, war, 215; OF. *werre*,
 guerre.
weshe, *pr. pl.* wash, 333; OE.
 wæscan.
wete, wet, 321; OE. wāt.
wille, *n.* 226; OE. willa.
wise, manner, 77, 132; OE. wīsa.
witere, *imp. s. inform*; 185; ON.
 vitra.
with, 40, 79; *wyt*, 165, 341; OE.
 wið.
with-in, *prep.* 64; *withinne*,
 252; *adv.* 68; OE. wið-innan.
with-outen, *prep.* 85; OE. wið-
 utan.
wolde, *pt. pl.* would, 68; OE.
 willan.
wonder, marvel, 73, 99; OE.
 wundor.
wondres, *pr. pl.* wonder, 125;
 OE. wundrian.
wonnes, *pr. 3 s.* dwells, 279; OE.
 wunian.
wontyd, *pt. 3 s.* lacked, 208; ON.
 vanta.
worde, word, 218, 321; *pl.*
 wordes, 56, 178; OE. word.
worlde, 64, 186; OE. woruld.
wormes, 262; OE. wyrn; *cp.*
 ON. ormr.
worthe, *inf.* happen, 258; *imp. s.*
 become, 340; *pp.* worthyn,
 330; OE. weorðan.
wos, *v. be*.
wost, *pr. 2 s.* knowest, 183; *pl.*
 wot, 185; OE. witan.
wothe, danger, 233; ON. vāði.
wrakeful, cruel, 215; OE. wracu
 +full.
wrangle, *adj.* wrong, 236; ON.
 *wrangr; Icel. rangr.
wranges, *n. pl.* wrongs, 243; ON.
 *wrangr; Icel. rangr.
wrathe, anger, 215, 233; OE.
 wræðo.
writtes, writings, 277; OE. writ.
wroght, *v. wyrke*.
wyzt, brisk, 69; ON. vīgr, *neut.*
 vīgt.
wynter, *pl.* years, 230; OE.
 winter.
wyrke, *inf.* work, 39; *pt. 2 s.*
 wroghtes, 274; *pl.* wroghtyn,
 301; *pp.* wroght, 226; OE.
 wyrean.
wyt, *v. with*.
wyterly, surely, 183; ON. vitrliga.
ydols, *pl.* 17, 29; OF. idole.
ylka, *v. ilke*.
yrne, iron, 71; OE. īren.

APPENDIX
TEXTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE
TRAJAN-GREGORY LEGEND

ψ_t

I

FROM THE MONK OF WHITBY'S LIFE OF
ST. GREGORY

Quidam quoque de nostris dicunt narratum a Romanis Sancti Gregorii lacrimis, animam Traiani imperatoris refrigeratam vel baptizatam, quod est dictu mirabile et auditu. Quod autem eum dicimus baptizatum, neminem moveat; nemo enim sine baptismo Deum videbit unquam. Cuius tertium genus est lacrime. Nam die quadam transiens per forum Traianum, quod ab eo opere mirifico constructum dicunt, illud considerans repperit opus tam elemosinarium eum fecisse paganum, ut Christiani plus quam pagani esse posse videretur. Fertur namque contra hostes exercitum ducens propere pugnaturus, unius ad eum voce vidue misericorditer mollitus, substetisse totius imperator orbis. Ait enim illa: *Domine Traiane, hic sunt homines qui filium meum occidérunt,¹ nolentes mihi rationem reddere.* Cui, cum rediero, inquit, *dicito mihi, et faciam eos tibi rationem reddere.* At illa: *Domine, ait, si inde non venies, nemo me adiuvet.* Tunc iam concite reos, in eam fecit coram se in armis suis subaratae ei pecuniam componere quem¹ debuerunt.² Hoc igitur sanctus inveniens Gregorius, id esse agnovit quod legimus; *Iudicare pupillo et defendite viduam et venite et arguite me dicit Dominus.*³ Unde per eum quem in se habuit Christum loquentem ad refrigerium anime eius quid implendo nesciebat, ingrediens ad sanctum Petrum solita direxit lacrimarum fluenta, usque, dum promeruit sibi divinitus revelatum fuisse exauditum, atque ut numquam de altero illud presumpsisset pagano.

(*A Life of Pope St. Gregory the Great, written by a monk of the monastery of Whitby*, Francis Aidan Gasquet, D.D., 1904, pp. 38, 39.)

¹ *Sic.*

² The accent is marked in the MS.

³ Isai. i. 16, 17 *Iudicate pupillo, defendite viduam, et venite et arguite me, dicit Dominus.*

II

DANTE: (A) PURG. x. 73-96

Quivi era storiata l'alta gloria
 Del roman principato, il cui valore
 Mosse Gregorio alla sua gran vittoria:
 Io dico di Traiano imperadore;
 Ed una vedovella gli era al freno,
 Di lagrime atteggiata e di dolore.
 Intorno a lui parea calcato e pieno
 Di cavalieri, e l'aquile nell'oro
 Sopr'esso in vista al vento si movieno.
 La miserella intra tutti costoro
 Pareva dicer: 'Signor, fammi vendetta
 Di mio figliuol ch'è morto, ond'io m'accoro.'
 Ed egli a lei rispondere: 'Ora aspetta
 Tanto ch'io torni.' E quella: 'Signor mio,'
 Come persona in cui dolor s'affretta,
 'Se tu non torni?' Ed ei: 'Chi fia dov'io
 La ti farà.' E quella: 'L'altrui bene
 A te che fia, se il tuo metti in obbligo?'
 Ond'egli: 'Or ti conforta, chè conviene
 Ch'io solva il mio dovere, anzi ch'io movea:
 Giustizia vuole, e pietà mi ritiene.'
 Colui, che mai non vide cosa nuova,
 Produsse esto visibile parlare,
 Novello a noi, perchè qui non si trova.

(B) PAR. xx. 43-8

Dei cinque che mi fan cerchio per ciglio,
 Colui che più al becco mi s'accosta,
 La vedovella consolò del figlio.
 Ora conosce quanto caro costa
 Non seguir CRISTO, per l'esperienza
 Di questa dolce vita, e dell'opposta.

APPENDIX

(c) PAR. XX. 106-17

Chè l'una dello Inferno, u' non si riede
Giammai a buon voler, tornò all'ossa,
E ciò di viva speme fu mercede;
Di viva speme, che mise la possa
Ne' preghi fatti a Dio per suscitarla,
Sì che potesse sua voglia esser mossa.
L'anima gloriosa onde si parla,
Tornata nella carne, in che fu poco,
Credette in Lui che poteva aiutarla;
E credendo s'accese in tanto foco
Di vero amor, ch'alla morte seconda
Fu degna di venire a questo gioco.

(DANTE, ed. Dr. E. Moore.)

III

JACOPO DALLA LANA

73. Elli si legge che al tempo di san Gregorio papa si cavò a Roma una fossa per fare fondamento d'uno lavorio, e cavando li maestri, trovorno sotto terra uno monumento, lo quale fu aperto, e dentro era in fra l'altre ossa quello della testa del defunto, ed avea la lingua così rigida, carnosa e fresca, come fusse pure in quella ora seppellita. Considerato li maestri che molto tempo era scorso da quello die a quello, che potea essere stato seppellito lo detto defunto, tenneno questa invenzione della lingua essere gran meraviglia, e publiconno a molta gente. Alle orecchie di san Gregorio venne tal novità, fessela portare dinanzi, e congiurolla dalla parte di Dio vivo e vero; e per la fede cristiana, della quale elli era sommo pontefice, ch'ella li dovesse dire di che condizione fu nella prima vita. La lingua rispuose: io fu Traiano imperadore di Roma, che signoreggiai nel eotale tempo, dappoi che Cristo discese nella Vergine, e sono all'inferno perch'io non fui con fede. Investigato Gregorio della condizione di costui per quelle scritture che si trovono, si trovò

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ch'elli fu uomo di grandissima giustizia e misericordiosa persona; e tra l'altre novelle trovò, che essendo armato e cavalcando con tutte le sue milizie fuori di Roma, andando per grandi fatti, una vedovella si gittò dinanzi al cavallo in ginocchio, dicendo allo detto imperadore ch'elli li facesse ragione, con ciò fosse che uno suo figliuolo gli era stato morto. Lo imperadore avendo il cuore al sul viaggio disse: Donna aspetta che noi torniamo di questa oste, dove andiamo. La vedovella pronta rispose: Ma se tu non tornassi, come andrebbe la vicenda? E lo imperadore rispuose: Colui che sarà imperadore allora farà la vendetta tua. E la vedovella disse: Ma che grado ne averò io a te, io che mo che tu la puoi fare, tu la metti in indugia? Allora lo imperadore costretto da giustizia e da pietade, non si partì di quello luogo, chè elli mandò e chiamare colui ch'avea fatto lo omicidio, e trovossi essere figliuolo del detto imperadore Traiano. Apresentato dinanzi da lui lo suo figliuolo per malfattore chiamò la vedovella, e disse: Or vedi costui che è mo mio figliuolo, è quello che ha commesso l'omicidio. Qual vuoi tu innanzi o ch'ello mora, o ch'io tel dia per tuo figliuolo? E sappi certamente ch'io il ti darò si libero, ch'io non avrò più a fare in lui, nè elli in me, e sarà così tuo suddito, come se tu l'avessi portato nel tuo corpo. Pensato la vedovella che'l suo figliuolo morto non risuscitava perchè questo morisse, disse che lo voleva per suo figliuolo, e così l'ebbe, e possideolo da quell'ora innanzi. Fatta questa vendetta lo imperadore cavalcò a suo viaggio.

Per le quali istorie così bontadose lo detto san Gregorio si mosse a pregare Dio per lui, e tanto pregò che'l detto Traiano risuscitò, e visse al mondo e fu battezzato, e tiensi ch'elli sia mo salvo. Vero è che perchè il detto san Gregorio fece preghiera per dannato, volle Dio per penitenzia di tal peccato, che da quel die innanzi per tutta la sua vita elli avesse male di stomaco. E dice l'autore che questa istoria di Traiano imperadore e della vedovella era scolpita apresso li due, di che è fatto menzione, siccome appare nel testo, la quale corrisponde alla terza malizia della superbia come è detto.

(Commentary of Jacopo dalla Lana, Milan, 1865, p. 201.)

APPENDIX

IV

FROM BROMYARDE'S *SUMMA PRAEDICANTIUM*

Brit. Mus. MS. Royal 7 E. iv, fol. 275 b.

§ Et non solum ipsi leges & iusticias quas in extraneis obseruari volunt obseruent. sed & suos propinquissimos & carissimos illas seruare faciant exemplo traiani imperatoris de quo scribitur quod tantam in suis iusticiam excercuit quod filium proprium ad seruendum euidam vidue tradidit quia filius suus indiscrete equitando vidue filium impotentem pro matris servicio fecerat. § Et non solum sic in seipsis vel suis familiaribus leges suas obseruare debent. sed quandoque propter suorum Ministrorum defectum. vel propter causas & querelas ad eos diuersis causis deuolutas. ipsique quandoque inter alios iudicare deberent. pauperumque cognoscere causas. exemplum ad hoc habent in factis sancti Lodowici. d. 12. 4. & in gestis traiani imperatoris in quibus continetur quod ad bellum cum excercitu pergens. viduam quamdam obuiam habuit que eum pro iusticia in causa sua facienda interpellauit. Cui ille promisit quod in reditu ei iusticiam faceret. Cui illa. Quid si non redieris? tunc inquit successor meus tibi iusticiam faciet. Cui illa. Tu nunc mihi debitor es & non successor tuus. Si ergo mihi iusticiam non feceris fraudem mihi facis & peccas de quo factum successoris tui te non liberabit quia facta tua tibi valebunt vel nocebunt. & facta sua ei valebunt vel nocebunt & non tibi. quia iusticia iusti super eum erit & impietas impii super eum erit. Ezechiel. 18. qui sic conclusus ei iusticiam fecit. propter hec & alia iusticie opera beatus gregorius postmodum pro illo orasse legitur ad salutem qui se nunc propter talia iusticie [F. 276 a.] opera in celis coronatum videns dicere potest illud. Thi 4. reposita est mihi corona iusticie.¹ Nota L. 3. 8. Item. P. 10. 2. § Horum ergo exemplo. Si vere vtique iusticiam loquimini recte iudicate in P. § Sed heu nonnulli moderni iusticie aduocati & iudices ut dieunt de iusticia locuntur legesque condunt quas nec in seipsis nec in proximis nec in extraneis aliquid eis dantibus obseruant. quorum periculum patet Ezechiel 5. contemptus inquit iudicia mea vt plus

¹ Printed text inserts: 'Nota de iudice cuius caput londonijs in fundatum ecclesie sancti pauli inuentum fuit etc.'

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esset impia quam gentes & precepta mea vltra quam terre que in circuitu eius sunt & iuxta iudicia gentium non estis operati sicud per predicta patet exempla ideo hec dicit dominus . patres comedent¹ filios & filii patres . 3^a pars peste & fame & 3^a pars gladio morietur &c. Nota de hac materia L. 5. 4. quod videlicet tales vindicte propter peccata contingunt.

Fol. 286 a (L. 3. 8).

§ 2º illam ab aliis obseruari faciant. quia quid valet legem condere nisi execucioni & obseruacioni demandetur. Nota ergo propriis parcat laboribus vel dispendiis quin leges tam a carissimis & propinquissimis quam et ab aliis omnibus subiectis obseruari faciant. Exemplum vnum ad hoc habetur de traiano. J. 13. 8.

Fol. 468 a (P. 10. 2).

& preseruat a pena seu morte eterna patet per exemplum de traiano & vidua. J. 13. 8.

VI

ROLEVINCK : *De Laude Veteris Saxoniae*

Capitulum III

De moribus Westphalonum antequam ad fidem converterentur.

Rem novam, ut supra protestatus sum, ago et idcirco correctorem in his suppliciter exoro ut, quae minus ad normam vadunt, ipse ad meliorem et certiore formam aptare dignetur. De vita ergo parentum nostrorum, ex quibus originem traximus, quoad pristinam aetatem, sicut et de ceteris gentibus, flebile est aliquid narrare, quoniam, ut ex multis signis perpendimus, omnes paene in miserabile illud sacrilegium sive idolatriae crimen corruerunt, dicente scriptura de behemoth, id est hoste antiquo : Absorbebit fluvium et non mirabitur, et habebit fiduciam quod Iordanis influat in os eius. Quod exponens beatus Gregorius dicit : Antiquus hostis pro magno non habet, quod infideles rapit, qui totum humanum genus paene per tot temporum

¹ MS. cōmedēt.

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spatia in ventrem suae malitiae traxit, sed insuper fiduciam habet, quod baptismo regeneratos absorbere possit. Ex his et aliis satis patet, quod per multa millia annorum progenitores nostri hic infideliter vixerunt et tandem pro suis peccatis ad inferna descenderunt et illic aeterna supplicia infeliciter luant. Dicit enim apostolus, quod impossibile est sine fide placere deo. Pie tamen creditur, quod clemens deus aliquos electos inter eos habuit, secundum illud psalmi: Numquid in vanum constituisti omnes filios hominum? Haec ex sententia beati Augustini probari aliqualiter possunt in **xviii** de civitate Dei, ubi loquitur de sancto Iob, qui nec circumcisus fuit nec legem aliquam accepit, et tamen cum suis prolibus et amicis deo fideliter servivit. Item **xvi** libro dicit, quod post benedictionem filiorum Noe usque ad Abraham nulla fit mentio iustorum aliquorum, nec eos tamen defuisse crediderim, quoniam si omnes commemorarentur, nimis longum fieret. Item circa annos domini **dcclxxxix** in Constantinopoli lamina aurea inventa est super corpus cuiusdam defuncti in quodam sepulchro, in qua sic scriptum erat: Christus nascetur de virgine Maria et ego credo in eum. O sol iterum videbis me, sub Constantino et Irene. Circa annum domini ut puto **MCC** in Vienna repertum fuit caput cuiusdam defuncti, lingua adhuc integra cum labiis, et loquebatur recte. Episcopo autem interrogante qualis fuisset in vita, respondit: Ego eram paganus et iudex in hoc loco, nec unquam lingua mea protulit iniquam sententiam, quare etiam mori non possum, donec aqua baptismi renatus ad coelum evolem, quod propter hoc hanc gratiam apud deum merui. Baptizato igitur capite, statim lingua in favillam corruit et spiritus ad dominum evolavit. Ex his et similibus colligere possumus, quod divina misericordia verisimiliter egerit erga ceteras gentes, in quibus magna virtutum exempla reperimus.

(*De Laude Veteris Saxoniae*, Wernerus Rolevinck, ed. Dr. Ludwig Tross, Köln, 1865, pp. 28, 30.)

V

PIERS PLOWMAN: (i) B. xi. 132-71

'That is soth,' seyde Scripture. 'may no synne lette
 Mercy alle to amende · and mekenesse hir folwe,
 For they beth as owre bokes telleth · aboue goddes werkes,
Misericordia eius super omnia opera eius.'

'Jee! baw for bokes!' quod one · was broken oute of helle,
 Histe *Troianus*, had ben a trewe knyȝte · toke witnessse at a pope,
 How he was ded and dampned · to dwellen in pyne,
 For an vncristene creature; · clerkis wyten the sothe,
 That al the clergye vnder Cryste · ne miȝte me cracche fro helle,
 But onliche loue and leaute · and my lawful domes.
 Gregorie wist this wel · and wilned to my soule
 Sauacioun, for sothenesse · that he seigh in my werkes.
 And, after that he wepte · and wilned me were graunted
 Grace, wylth-outen any bede-byddynge · his bone was vnderfongen,
 And I sauued, as ȝe may se · with-oute syngynge of masses;
 By loue, and by lernynge · of my lyuyng in treuthe,
 Brouȝte me fro bitter peyne · there no biddynge myȝte.'

Lo, ȝe lordes, what leute did · by an emperoure of Rome,
 That was an vncrystene creature · as clerkes fyndeth in bokes.
 Nouȝt thorw preyere of a pope · but for his pure treuthe
 Was that Sarasene sauued · as seyt Gregorie bereth witnesse.
 Wel ouȝte ȝe lordes, that lawes kepe · this lessoun to haue in mynde,
 And on *Troianus* treuth to thenke · and do treuthe to the peple.

This matir is merke for mani of ȝow · ac, men of holy cherche,
 The Legende *Sanctorum* ȝow lereth · more larger than I ȝow telle!
 Ac thus lele loue · and lyuyng in treuthe
 Pulte oute of pyne · a paynym of Rome.
 I-blessed be treuthe · that so brak helle-ȝates,
 And sauued the Sarasyn · fram Sathanas and his power,
 There no clergie ne couthe · ne kunnynge of lawes.
 Loue and leute · is a lele science;
 For that is the boke blessed · of blisse and of ioye:—
 God wrouȝt it and wrot hit · with his on fynger,
 And toke it Moyses vpon the mount · alle men to lere.

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V

PIERS PLOWMAN: (i) C. xiii. 71-99

'That is sothe,' seide Scripture. 'may no synne lette
Mercy, that hue nel al amende. yf meeknesse here folwe;
Thei bothe, as our bookes telleth. aren aboue godes werkes;

Misericordia eius super omnia opera eius.'

'Ye, baw for bookes!' quath on. was broken out of helle—
'Ich, *Troianus*, a trewe knyght. ich take witness of a pope,
How ich was ded, and dampned. to dwellen in helle
For an vncristene creature; .seynt Gregorie wot the sothe,
That al the Cristendome vnder Crist. ne myghte cracche me thennes
Bote onliche loue and leaute. as in my lawes demyngē!
Gregore wiste this wel. and wilnede to my soule
Sauacion, for the sothnesse. that he seih in myn werkes;
And for he wilnede wepynge. that ich were sauued,
God of hus goodnesse. seih hus grete wil;
With-oute moo bedes byddyng. hus bone was vnderfonge,
And ich ysaued, as ȝe may see. with-oute syngynge of masse.
Loue, withoute leel by-leyue. and my lawe ryghtful
Sauede me Sarrasyn. soule and body bothe.'

Lo, lordes! what Leaute dude. and leel dom y-used!
Wel auhte ȝe lordes that lawes kepen. this lesson to haue in mynde,
And on *Troianus* treuthe to thenke. alle tymes of ȝoure lyue,
And louye for ȝoure lordes loue. and do leaute euere more.

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'Lawe with-outen loue,' quod *Troianus*. 'leye there a bene,
Or any science vnder sonne·the seuene artz and alle,
But if thei ben lerned for owre lordes loue·lostē is alle the tyme:'—
For no cause to cacche siluer there-by·ne to be called a mayster,
But al for loue of owre lorde·and the bet to loue the peple.
For seynte Iohan seyde it·and soth aren his wordes,
 "Qui non diligit, manet in morte—"
Who so loueth nouȝt, leue me·he lyueth in deth-deyinge".'

PIERS PLOWMAN: (ii) B. xii. 275-93

'Alle thise clerkes,' quod I tho ·'that on Cryst leuen,
Seggen in her sarmones·that noyther Sarasenes ne Iewes,
Neno creature of Cristeslyknesse·with-outen Crystendome worth sauēd.'

'*Contra*,' quod Ymagynatf tho·and comsed for to loure,
And seyde, '*saluabitur vix iustus in die iudicij*.
Ergo saluabitur,' quod he·and seyde namore Latyne.
'Troianus was a trewe knyȝte·and toke neuere Cristendome,
And he is sauſ, so seith the boke·and his soule in heuene.
For there is fullyng of fonte·and fullyng in blode-shedyng,
And thorough fuires is fullyng·and that is ferme bileue;

Aduenit ignis diuinus, non comburens, sed illuminans, etc.

Ac trewth that trespassed neuere·ne transuersed aȝeines his lawe,
But lyueth as his lawe techeth·and leueth there be no bettere,
And if there were, he wolde amende·and in suche wille deyeth,
Ne wolde neuere trewe god·but treuth were allowed;
And where it worth or worth nouȝt·the bileue is grete of treuth,
And an hope hangyng ther-inne·to haue a mede for his treuthe.
For, *Deus dicitur quasi dans vitam eternam suis, hoc est, fidelibus; et alibi;*

Si ambulauero in medio rmbre mortis, etc.

The glose graunteth upon that vers·a gret mede to treuthe,
And witt and wisdome,' quod that wye·'was somme tyme tresore,
To kepe with a comune·no katel was holde bettere,
And moche murth and manhood:—and riȝt with that he vaneschēd.

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For lawe with-oute leaute · leye ther a bene !
Other eny science vnder sonne · the seuene ars and alle,
Bote loue and leaute hem lede · y-lost is al the tyme
Of hym that traueleth ther-on · bote treuthe be hus lyuynge.
Lo, loue and leaute · been oure lordes bookeſ,
And Cristes owen cleregie · he cam fro heuene to teche hit,
And sitthe seynt Iohan · seide hit of hus techynge ;
"Qui non diligit, manet in morte".

PIERS PLOWMAN : (ii) C. xv. 200-17

'Alle these clerkes,' quath ich tho · 'that on Crist byleyuen,
Seggen in here sarmons · that nother Sarrasyns ne Iewes
With-oute baptisme, as by here bokes · beeth nat ysaued.'

'Contra,' quath Ymaginatif tho · and comsed to loure,
And seide, 'uix saluabitur iustus in die iudicii';
Ergo saluabitur, quath he · and seide no more Latyn.
'Traianus was a trewe knyght · and took neuere Crystendome,
And he is saf, seith the bok · and his soule in heuene.
Ther is follyng of font · and follyng in blod-shedyng,
And thorw fuyr is follyng · and al is ferm by-leyue;

Aduenit ignis diuinus, non comburens sed illuminans.
Ac treuthe, that trespassede neuere · ne transuersede aȝens the lawe,
Bote lynde as his lawe tauhte · and leyueth ther be no bettere,
And yf ther were, he wolde · and in suche a wil deyeth —
Wolde neuere trewe god · bote trewe treuthe were a-lowed.
And where hit worth other nat worth · the by-leyue is gret of
treuthe,

And hope hongeth ay ther-on · to haue that treuthe deserueth;

Quia super pauca fidelis fuisti, supra multa te constituam :
And that is loue and large huyre · yf the lord be trewe,
And cortesie more than couenant was · what so clerkes carpen ;
For al worth as god wole' — and ther-with he vanshede.

(PIERS THE PLOWMAN, ed. W. W. Skeat, Oxford, 1886.)

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